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From the painting by Raffael in the Pitti Gallery, Florence.

A CHRONICLE OF THE POPES

FROM ST. PETER TO PIUS X

BY

A. E. McKILLIAM, M.A.

LONDON

G. BELL AND SONS, LTD.

1912

I have pleasure in stating that, having carefully examined the recently published book "A Chronicle of the Popes," by A. E. McKilliam, M.A., I consider it a remarkably fair and trustworthy history which may prove very useful to Catholic students.

✠ Louis Charles,
Bishop of Salford.

25*th July* 1912.

MAR - 4 1960

PREFACE

THIS volume, as its name indicates, claims to be no more than a chronicle as distinguished from a history—a simple record of facts and events rather than an attempt to discuss even briefly the causes, movements, and results to which these facts and events bear witness. The hold which the Church so rapidly gained over the minds of men, the vast and penetrating power which it has exercised throughout all the states of Christendom, make the history of the Papacy almost synonymous with a history of the civilized world from the early centuries of the Christian era, and its adequate treatment is beyond the capacity of any single writer. The works of Creighton, Luchaire, Mann, Milman, De Montor, Pastor, Ranke, and others, show the lengths to which sections of the subject may extend, and it is only in this way that it can be satisfactorily dealt with.

The chief disadvantage of these voluminous works, however, is that even when they are all available to the ordinary student, which is not always the case, they only deal with aspects or periods more or less isolated in the long history of the Papacy. Moreover, the manner in which they treat the subject is in most cases too diffuse to be of service except to such students as have unlimited time at their disposal.

Several years' study of the subject has convinced the writer that a handbook in one volume chronicling the names, dates, and chief facts concerning each Pope from St. Peter to the present Pontiff—data which must other-

wise be sought in a many-tomed cyclopaedia will not be unwelcome to the historical student. For this purpose many works have been consulted. A list of the chief authorities is given separately. The chronological order which has been followed admits of a chain of connexion between the individual biographies, so that the historical record of the whole period covered is continuous throughout. The close connexion between the history of the Papacy and that of the Empire has also been emphasized.

The aim of the compiler has been to give an absolutely unbiassed account of the lives of the Popes, uncoloured by theological prejudice or predilection. With this end in view the book has been revised by several scholars, including a Catholic theologian and writer who has kindly assisted in reading the proof sheets. It is therefore hoped that the book may meet with acceptance as a work of reference for historical students and for the general inquirer.

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A CHRONICLE OF THE POPES

I. ST. PETER, A.D. 43?-67?

Emperors: CLAUDIUS, 41-54; NERO, 54-68

ACCORDING to the most ancient traditions of the Roman Church, St. Peter founded the church of Antioch about A.D. 36 or 37, and presided over it as bishop for seven years. In A.D. 43 he went to Rome and there established his see, over which he presided for nearly twenty-five years. He suffered martyrdom under Nero on 29th June A.D. 67 or 68.

While all the information we possess concerning the history of the Roman see during the first centuries is founded on tradition, the statement that St. Peter was first bishop of Rome seems to have been almost unanimously accepted by early historians. St. Jerome, writing in the fourth century, and quoting from Eusebius, confirms this statement, though some later writers have seen fit to dispute it.

The Vatican Hill, beyond the Tiber, was shown at the end of the second century as the place of St. Peter's martyrdom. There lay the Circus, and the gardens of Nero where, according to Tacitus, the persecution of the Christians actually took place. There also was built to contain his tomb the first church of St. Peter.

The tradition that he was crucified with his head downwards is mentioned by Origen (A.D. 185-253), and was afterwards cited as evidence of his great humility in counting himself unworthy to die in the same manner as his Lord.

The supremacy claimed by the Catholic Church for St. Peter and his successors rests chiefly on the authority of our Lord's words as given in Matthew xvi, 18 and 19: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of

hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

II. LINUS, A.D. 67?-79?

Emperors: NERO to 68; GALBA, OTHO, VITELLIUS, VESPASIAN, 68-79

LINUS is stated by Irenaeus, Eusebius, and St. Jerome to have been the first successor of St. Peter, and to have governed the Church of Rome for twelve years. Nothing certain is known concerning him, but some writers identify him with the Linus mentioned by St. Paul in his second epistle to Timothy (2 Tim. iv, 21). The martyrdom of Linus is commemorated on 23rd September, although early historians make no mention of his having suffered for the faith.

III. CLETUS or ANACLETUS, A.D. 78?-91?

Emperors: TITUS, 79-81; DOMITIAN, 81-96

CLETUS or Anacletus is stated by Irenaeus to have succeeded Linus as Bishop of Rome. According to Eusebius, Cletus presided over the Roman see for twelve years and seven months, but there is considerable variance among different writers as to the date and length of his pontificate. Some records affirm that he suffered martyrdom in A.D. 91 during the Domitian persecution. According to the "Liber Pontificalis," there were two distinct pontiffs, Cletus and Anacletus, whose pontificates were separated by that of Clement I. This order is repeated in other derived lists, but neither Irenaeus nor Eusebius mention more than one pontiff of this name, and the opinion that there were two has been abandoned by recent writers.

The "Liber Pontificalis" states that Cletus was a Roman, the son of Æmilianus. The feast of St. Cletus is kept on 26th April with that of St. Marcellinus.

IV. CLEMENT I, A.D. 91?-100?

Emperors: DOMITIAN to 96; NERVA, 96-98; TRAJAN, 98-117

ST. IRENAEUS states that Clement was third Bishop of Rome after the Apostles. The Roman Liturgy recites the names of Linus, Cletus, and Clement after those of the Apostles, and it is believed that the Liturgy contained these names in the same order as early as the second century. This order is followed by Eusebius, but Tertullian and certain others held that Clement succeeded Linus as Bishop of Rome. In the "Liber Pontificalis" he is said to have been a Roman, the son of Faustinus.

Some writers identify Clement with the Florius Clemens, who was a nephew of the Emperor Vespasian, and who suffered martyrdom under Domitian. This identity, however, seems scarcely probable. Clement wrote of himself as "the child of Jacob," which has given rise to the inference that he may have been a Jew. There was a tradition recorded by Irenaeus that Clement "saw the Blessed Apostles and conversed with them." The great reputation of Clement caused many of the most ancient writings to be wrongly attributed to him. All the best authorities are, however, unanimous in ascribing to him an "Epistle to the Corinthians" which bears his name. The purpose of this letter was to restore harmony in the Corinthian Church, which had been disturbed by the revolts of certain persons against the authority of the presbyters. The letter is simple and clear in style, and reveals the gentleness, zeal, and charity of the writer. Eusebius states that down to his time the public reading of Clement's "Epistle" was an ancient custom in many churches. (*Vide* Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," iii, 16, ed. Bohn, p. 90.)

V. EVARISTUS, A.D. 100?-109?

Emperor: TRAJAN, 98-117

ALL historians agree that Evaristus succeeded Clement as Bishop of Rome, but differ as to the date and duration of his pontificate. The "Liber Pontificalis" states that he was the son of a Jew of Hellenic descent. The statement that he divided Rome into parishes is apparently erroneous, this division being almost certainly of later date. Although ancient writers

make no mention of his having suffered for the faith, his martyrdom is commemorated on 25th October. He is said to have been buried on the Vatican Hill, near the sepulchre of St. Peter.

VI. ALEXANDER I, A.D. 109?-119?

Emperors: TRAJAN to 117; HADRIAN, 117-138

ACCORDING to Irenaeus and Eusebius, Alexander, a Roman, the son of Alexander, succeeded Evaristus as fifth Bishop of Rome after St. Peter. He governed for ten years and some days. Cardinal Baronius, however, places the commencement of Alexander's pontificate as late as the year 121. The "Liber Pontificalis" states that he was beheaded in the Via Nomentana, but the title of martyr is not given him by early writers. Several churches in Italy, France, and Germany claim to possess relics of this pope.

VII. SIXTUS I. A.D. 119?-128?

Emperor: HADRIAN, 117-138

ALL authorities agree in stating that Sixtus, a Roman, the son of Pastor, succeeded Alexander I in the Roman see, over which he presided for nearly ten years. There is, however, considerable disagreement as to the exact date of his pontificate. Like all his predecessors in the bishopric of Rome Sixtus is commemorated as a martyr. Two decretals were ascribed to him, but these are now universally acknowledged to have been forged in later ages. Relics of this pope are shown in many churches throughout the Catholic world.

VIII. TELESPHORUS, 128?-139?

Emperors: HADRIAN to 138; ANTONINUS PIUS, 138-161

TELESPHORUS, who succeeded Sixtus I is the first Bishop of Rome distinguished by Irenaeus and other early writers with the title of martyr. Tradition states that he was a Greek. According to Eusebius he governed the Church of Rome for eleven years, nine months, and three days, and suffered martyrdom in A.D. 139. He is said to have been the first to institute the keeping of Lent, and also the celebration of the midnight Mass with the use of "Gloria in Excelsis"

during the night before Christmas. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 129.) Telesphorus is said to have been buried on the Vatican Hill.

IX. HYGINUS, A.D. 139?-142?

Emperor: ANTONINUS PIUS, 138-161

HYGINUS, the successor of Telesphorus, governed the Church of Rome for nearly four years. He is said to have been a native of Athens, the son of a philosopher, whose name is not given. The "Liber Pontificalis" says that he instituted the hierarchy. Irenaeus tells us that during this pontificate the two famous heretics, Valentine and Cerdo, came to Rome, the former from Egypt, and the latter from Syria. In spite of the zeal of Hyginus, they succeeded in gaining many converts to their heresy. To Hyginus is attributed the custom of having sponsors in baptism, and the ceremony of consecrating churches. Hyginus is honoured as a martyr, his feast being kept on 11th January, although none of the early historians give him this title. He is said to have been buried on the Vatican Hill, near the tomb of St. Peter.

X. PIUS I, A.D. 142?-157?

Emperor: ANTONINUS PIUS, 138-161

PIUS I is generally held to have succeeded Hyginus as Bishop of Rome, and to have governed for fifteen years. There is, however, some disagreement as to the order of his succession, some ancient registers placing him after Anicetus. The opinion that he preceded that bishop is now more generally accepted since it was held by Hegesippus and Irenaeus, who were his contemporaries. Pius is said to have been an Italian of Aquileia, the son of Rufinus.

Several writers state that the Hermas to whom is ascribed an early work known as "The Shepherd of Hermas," was the brother of Pius I. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen quote the work as inspired, but it was rejected by the early councils of the church. The book is a collection of visions and parables which the author professes to have written at the command of an angel, who appeared to him in the guise of a shepherd. Sir James Donaldson inclines to the

opinion that the work is a romance, and that the name Hermas was most probably assumed. He considers the book "of peculiar interest," however, from its being "the first work extant the main effort of which is to direct the soul to God. . . . It is indeed intended for the saint who has grown cold in his attachment to his Master; but its representations of truth are applicable to all living to God." (*Vide* "The Apostolical Fathers," by Sir James Donaldson, LL.D., chap. v, p. 339.) It is also of interest as giving almost the earliest extant references to the use of liturgy, confession, etc.

To Pius I are ascribed two decretals in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection. The title of martyr is not given him by early historians, though his name appears in the Roman martyrologies.

XI. ANICETUS, A.D. 157-168?

Emperors: ANTONINUS PIUS to 161; MARCUS AURELIUS, 161-180

ACCORDING to Irenaeus and Hegesippus, Anicetus succeeded Pius I as Bishop of Rome, and governed for eleven years. The "Liber Pontificalis" gives the name of his father as John, and states that he was a native of Humisa, in Syria. At the commencement of his pontificate Anicetus was visited by Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who journeyed to Rome in order to confer with the bishop of that city concerning the date of keeping Easter, which differed in the Eastern and Western Churches. They were, however, unable to come to any agreement on the subject, and parted in peace, each retaining his own opinion. During his sojourn in Rome, Polycarp, whom tradition states to have been formerly the disciple of St. John the evangelist, is said to have reclaimed by his teaching many of those who had been led astray by the heresies of Valentine. (*Vide* Hyginus.) Polycarp afterwards suffered martyrdom at the age of eighty-six.

In this pontificate Justin Martyr, a wandering philosopher, also came to Rome. Having accepted Christianity he was accused by a Cynic, whom he is said to have silenced in argument, and was put to death for his faith in A.D. 167, by order of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. Several writers state that Anicetus suffered martyrdom, although no mention is made of this by Irenaeus. He is said to have been the first to introduce the custom of the tonsure for priests. Anicetus is said to have been buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus, in Rome.

In 1590 a head, supposed to be that of Anicetus, was disinterred and presented by Pope Urban VII to the Jesuits of Munich, in Bavaria, where it is honoured on 17th April, the supposed anniversary of the martyrdom of Anicetus. In 1604 his supposed body was also disinterred, and placed in the chapel of the Altemps Palace in Rome. This favour was granted by Pope Clement VIII to Jean Angelo, Duke of Altemps. (*Vide* Artaud de Montor, "Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains," vol. i, p. 77.)

XII. SOTER, A.D. 168?-176?

Emperor: MARCUS AURELIUS, 161-180

SOTER, the successor of Anicetus, is stated in the "Liber Pontificalis" to have been a native of the city of Fundi, his father's name being Concordius. According to Eusebius he governed eight years. Many records exist of his charity to the poor and persecuted of other churches, including that of Corinth, to which he sent a liberal offering. During this pontificate the Montanist movement first arose in Asia Minor. The Montanists, so called from their leader, Montanes, a Phrygian, advocated a life of stern asceticism, and organized a revolt against all ecclesiastical system on the plea that the Second Advent was at hand. There is no evidence that this movement spread to Rome during this pontificate, though Soter is said to have written a book against the Montanists. After the death of Soter, Tertullian of Carthage defended their doctrine.

The title of martyr is given to Soter, his feast being observed on 22nd April, but neither Irenaeus nor any of the ancient historians make mention of his having suffered for the faith. The place of his burial is uncertain, but different traditions have caused his body to be honoured, both in the church of St. Sylvester in Rome, and in the Cathedral of Toledo in Spain.

XIII. ELEUTHERIUS, A.D. 176-192?

Emperors: MARCUS AURELIUS to 180; COMMODUS, 180-193

THE "Liber Pontificalis" states that Eleutherius was a Greek of Necropolis, the son of Abundantius. From Hegesippus, who had come to Rome in the previous pontificate, we learn that Eleutherius had been a deacon in the Church

and that he succeeded Soter as Bishop of Rome. Although in Rome the Church enjoyed quietness under the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), a bitter persecution of the Christians took place in Asia Minor and Southern Gaul. Eusebius records that Eleutherius, soon after his elevation to the papacy, received a letter concerning the Montanists from the Christians imprisoned at Lyons who were then awaiting death. The bearer of this letter was Irenaeus, afterwards Bishop of Lyons. (*Vide* Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," v, 4, ed. Bohn, p. 171.) What part Eleutherius took in the Montanist controversy has not been recorded.

According to Bede, a British king named Lucius sent an embassy to Eleutherius entreating him to send fit persons to Britain to instruct the British in the Christian faith, and the Pope gladly granted his request. This story is repeated with many details by William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth, but few modern writers regard it as authentic. (*Vide* Bede's "Eccles. Hist.," i, 4, Sellar's trans., p. 12.)

During this pontificate the Gnostic heresy is said to have been at its height.

The title of martyr is given to Eleutherius by the Catholic Church, but not by any of the early historians. His feast is kept on 25th May.

XIV. VICTOR, A.D. 192-202?

Emperors: Pertinax, Julianus, Niger, Albinus, Septimius Severus, 193-211

VICTOR, the successor of Eleutherius in the Roman see is stated to have been an African, the son of Felix. In this pontificate the controversy with the Eastern Church regarding the date of keeping Easter was renewed. The Easterns had continued to keep to the ancient Jewish custom of holding the Paschal Feast on the 14th day of the month Nisan on whatsoever day of the week it fell. Victor vehemently insisted that they should now conform to the western custom, which kept the festival on the Sunday following the 14th of Nisan. Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, summoned a council of all the bishops of Asia Minor, and these resolved, after discussion, to keep to their ancient practice, for which they quoted the authority of the Apostles. Victor, on receiving the letter of Polycrates informing him of this resolution, indignantly denounced all the bishops of Asia Minor, and either excommunicated them or threatened to do so. The strife was appeased

by Irenaeus, the Bishop of Lyons, who wrote to Victor reminding him of the moderation exercised by his predecessors regarding the controversy. Irenaeus also wrote in the same strain to other western bishops, with the result that the eastern were permitted to retain their own custom, and continued to do so until the meeting of the Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325.

Victor is usually supposed to have been the Bishop of Rome mentioned by Tertullian as a supporter of the Montanists, but who was afterwards persuaded to withdraw his approval from that sect. During this pontificate a new heresy, denying the divinity of Christ, was first taught in Rome by Theodotus of Byzantium.

XV. ZEPHYRINUS, A.D. 202?-219?

Emperors: SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS to 211; CARACALLA and GETA, 211-217; MACRINUS, ELAGABALUS, 218-222

ZEPHYRINUS is said to have been a Roman, the son of Abundantius. He is described as a weak and unlearned man, much under the influence of Calixtus, who succeeded him as pope. He seems to have continually vacillated between the conflicting opinions of different sects, which at this time divided the Church.

During this pontificate an imperial edict decreed a persecution of the Christians, from which they were only delivered, after many had suffered martyrdom, by the death of the Emperor Severus in A.D. 211. Zephyrinus left Rome during this persecution, and only returned when the danger was over.

The heresy of Monarchism, which taught the Unity or Monarchy of God and denied the divine personality of Christ, arose at this time. Zephyrinus governed the see of Rome for nearly eighteen years. He is commemorated as a martyr by the Roman Church, although the early historians do not give him this title.

XVI. CALIXTUS I, A.D. 219?-223?

Emperors: ELAGABALUS, 218-222; ALEXANDER SEVERUS, 222-235

CALIXTUS, who succeeded Zephyrinus in the Roman see, is stated to have been an Italian of Ravenna, the son of Domitius. Unfortunately, our chief knowledge of this pope is derived from the accounts given by his bitter enemies,

Tertullian and Hippolytus. In 1842, as a result of investigations undertaken at Mont Athos by order of the French Minister of Public Instruction, several valuable ancient MSS. were discovered and taken to Paris. Among them was a fifteenth-century copy of the continuation of a work formerly known as Origen's "Philosophumena"—a refutation of all heresies. After the publication of the recently-discovered parts for the University of Oxford in 1851, it was found that the ascription of this work to Origen had been an error, and most scholars now agree that the real author was Hippolytus, a contemporary of Popes Victor, Zephyrinus, and Calixtus. This conclusion was due chiefly to the discovery that the book was mentioned in, and connected with, at least six other works which were undoubtedly written by Hippolytus. The latter, who was a Roman presbyter, and according to some accounts Bishop of Portus, headed a party in the Church who accused Pope Calixtus of heresy, and of receiving into communion those who had been convicted of grievous sins. This party actually separated itself from communion with Pope Calixtus, and is believed to have elected Hippolytus as antipope.

According to the account given in the above-mentioned work of Hippolytus, Calixtus was in his youth a slave of Carpophorus, a Christian in the service of the Emperor. Having been entrusted by his master with the charge of a bank in which Christians deposited their savings, Calixtus was suspected of fraudulent dealings, and fled from Rome. His master pursued him to Portus, and arrested him on board a ship on which he had embarked. He vainly attempted to escape by jumping into the sea, but was captured and condemned to the hand-mill. After a time he was set at liberty in order that he might collect money to compensate those who had suffered from the failure of the bank. But, having raised a riot in a Jewish synagogue, he was again arrested and sent to the mines in Sardinia. The Emperor Commodus was induced by his mistress Marcia, who is supposed to have been a Christian, to issue an order for the release of the prisoners in Sardinia. Calixtus was released with the others, and was afterwards protected by Pope Victor, who sent him to Antium and supplied him with a monthly allowance. At Antium, where he remained for several years, he is said to have taken orders, and during the pontificate of Zephyrinus, was placed in charge of the Christian cemetery in the Appian Way, which afterwards bore his name. It is supposed that this piece of ground had been granted to the Christians

by some noble family to use as a burial-place. Tradition states that 46 popes and 174,000 martyrs were afterwards buried there.

On the death of Zephyrinus, Calixtus was elected pope, and governed the Roman see for nearly five years. His enemies accuse him of having won favour among the Roman clergy by the laxity of his discipline.

The whole account of Calixtus, as given by his rival Hippolytus, has been shown both by Döllinger and De Rossi to be quite untrustworthy, although probably based to some extent on facts. (*Vide* "Hippolytus and Callistus," by J. Döllinger, Eng. trans., pp. 111-115; also "Roma Sotterranea," Northcote and Brownlow, pt. i, pp. 497-505.)

Pope Calixtus met his death during a popular rising. He is said to have been seized, scourged, and thrown into a well which is still to be seen in the neighbouring church of St. Calixtus. The Church commemorates Calixtus as a martyr on 14th October.

XVII. URBAN I, A.D. 223?-230?

Emperor: ALEXANDER SEVERUS, 222-235

URBAN, the successor of Calixtus in the Roman see, is said to have been the son of Pontian, a powerful Roman noble. Very little that can be considered authentic is known concerning this pope. Two works, which probably belong to the fourth and fifth centuries respectively, known as the "Acts of St. Cecilia," and the "Acts of St. Urban," give many details concerning this pontificate, but they are now generally believed to be fabulous. There seems reason to believe, however, that a noble Roman virgin named Cecilia actually suffered martyrdom, although not during Urban's pontificate as these works declare, but more probably in the reign of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. It is believed that the Cemetery of Calixtus, where her remains were said to have been discovered by Pope Pascal I (A.D. 817-824), in close proximity to the papal crypt, may have been built on ground previously belonging to the Cecilian family. (*Vide* "Roma Sotterranea," Northcote and Brownlow, Eng. trans., pt. i, p. 332; also article on Pope Urban I by Rev. James Barmby, B.D., in "Dict. of Christ. Biog."

It is related that Urban accepted many gifts of farms and estates from wealthy Christians, and that from this pontificate therefore dates the beginning of the temporal possessions of the Church. During his reign the Christians enjoyed peace.

XVIII. PONTIAN, A.D. 230-235?

Emperor: ALEXANDER SEVERUS, 222-235

PONTIAN, who succeeded Urban I as Bishop of Rome, is said to have been by birth a Roman, the son of Calpurnius. During this pontificate the famous Origen of Caesarea was deposed and excommunicated by Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, with the approval of Pope Pontian.

The peace which the Christian Church had enjoyed for some years was ended in A.D. 235 by the assassination of the Emperor Alexander Severus. His successor, Maximin, commenced a bitter persecution of the Christians. Pontian, along with many others, was banished to the unhealthy island of Sardinia, where he died a few months later, on 28th September 235. In the pontificate of Fabian (236-250), the body of Pontian was brought by sea to Rome and buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus.

XIX. ANTEROS, A.D. 235-236

Emperors: MAXIMIN, GORDIAN I and II, BALBINUS, PUPIENUS, 235-238

ANTEROS, who succeeded Pontian, was a Greek, the son of Romulus. He is generally stated to have governed the Roman see only for one month and ten days, and to have suffered martyrdom on 3rd January 236 in the persecution under Maximin. Some records, however, affirm that he had governed for ten months at the time of his martyrdom. He is said to have ordered a collection to be made of all the acts of the martyrs for preservation in the Church, and certain writers hold that the "Acts of St. Cecilia" and the "Acts of St. Urban" (*vide* Urban I), were compiled at this time.

XX. FABIAN, A.D. 236-250

Emperors: GORDIAN III, 238-244; PHILIP, 244-249; DECIUS, 249-251.

FABIAN, who was chosen to succeed Anteros as Bishop of Rome, is stated to have been an Italian, the son of Fabius. Eusebius relates the following story regarding his election. After the death of Anteros, the clergy and citizens met to appoint a new bishop. Fabian, a layman, who had just arrived in Rome from the country, was present in the assembly. Several names had been mentioned, but no one thought of Fabian, until suddenly a white dove descended from above

and lighted on his head. The faithful, remembering that in this form the Holy Spirit was wont to manifest Himself, at once raised the cry that Fabian was the chosen bishop. He was immediately placed on the pontifical seat and elected by the laying on of hands. (*Vide* Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," vi, 29, ed. Bohn, p. 234.) He proved to be in every way worthy of the choice, being a man of blameless life, and of great zeal for the service of the Church. He is said to have appointed sub-deacons to continue the "History of the Martyrs," which Anteros had begun.

In A.D. 249 the Emperor Philip was killed in a rebellion of his soldiers, and was succeeded by Decius, whose reign was marked by a bitter persecution of the Christians. The Pope Fabian was one of the first victims of this persecution, and was put to death on 20th January 250, having governed the Roman see for fourteen years. After his death, Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, wrote of Fabian as "an excellent man, the glory of whose death corresponded to the purity, holiness, and integrity of his life."

Fragments of a slab bearing the name Fabian, Bishop and Martyr, were discovered by De Rossi, the celebrated archaeologist, about the middle of last century in the papal crypt of the Cemetery of Calixtus. (*Vide* "Roma Sotterranea," Northcote and Brownlow, pt. i, p. 301.) Fabian is stated to have divided Rome into seven districts, each supervised by a deacon.

XXI. CORNELIUS, A.D. 251-253

(NOVATIAN, ANTIPOPE)

Emperors: ETRUSCUS, HOSTILIAN and GALLUS, VOLUSIAN, 251-254

AFTER the martyrdom of Fabian the Roman see remained vacant for at least sixteen months. The Emperor Decius is said to have declared that he would rather suffer a competitor for the imperial crown than permit the election of a new Roman Bishop, who would withstand his designs of uprooting the Church. It is supposed that Cornelius was elected while Decius was absent on that expedition against the Goths which ended in his defeat and death.

Cyprian of Carthage, in one of his epistles, says that Cornelius was elected "at a time when no one had been made before him, when the place of Fabian, that is the place of Peter and the step of the sacerdotal chair were vacant." (*Vide* Epistle lv.) Catholic writers look on this as an early testimony to St. Peter's pontificate in Rome.

Cornelius, who was a Roman, the son of Castinus, was a prelate of resolute character and blameless life. During his pontificate the question of the treatment of persons who had lapsed, but had afterwards repented, began to disturb the Church. Many Christians, in order to save their lives or property during the persecutions, had obtained certificates from the imperial officers stating that they had actually offered incense to the statue of the Emperor. While Cornelius recommended that such persons on repentance should be treated with leniency and restored to the Christian communion, Cyprian of Carthage seems at first to have insisted that no restoration was possible for them, although at a later period he consented to re-admit them after a long and rigorous penance. The different views adopted with regard to this question of discipline caused divisions in the churches.

While Cyprian was absent from Carthage, owing to the Decian persecution, Novatus, a turbulent presbyter, became the leader of a party, who sought to obtain milder terms for the lapsed than those adopted by the Pope. Novatus actually went the length of usurping the episcopal functions and elected a deacon named Felicissimus. Some time afterwards Novatus went to Rome, where he joined the party to which he had previously been opposed.

Novatian, a presbyter, who was jealous of Cornelius, had placed himself at the head of a sect who called themselves "the Pure," and who pretended to be zealous for stricter discipline in the Church, and for a severer treatment of the lapsed. They declared that there were certain sins from which the clergy could not absolve. The Novatians were now joined by Novatus, and under his influence Novatian was actually ordained Bishop of Rome by three Italian bishops, and a small party of the clergy.

A council composed of sixty bishops and a large number of other clergy, met in Rome, and after due deliberation Cornelius was declared the true pope and Novatian was condemned and excommunicated. Copies exist of several interesting letters which passed between Cyprian and Cornelius at this time, as well as one written by Cornelius to Fabian, Bishop of Antioch, in which he expresses great bitterness against Novatian.

The persecution, which had relaxed on the death of Decius, was renewed when a pestilence broke out in several of the provinces of the empire. The Emperor Gallus and his son Volusian issued edicts ordering sacrifices to be offered to the

gods for the staying of the plague. On the refusal of the Christians to take part in these sacrifices the persecution recommenced. The Pope Cornelius was one of the first to make a public confession of his faith, and was banished to Civita Vecchia, forty-five miles from Rome, where he soon afterwards died. The Roman Church commemorates him as a martyr on 14th September. His body was brought to Rome and buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus, although not in the papal crypt, but in a crypt belonging to the gens Cornelia. This makes the truth of the tradition that he was a member of that noble Roman family appear probable. (*Vide* "Roma Sotterranea," Northcote and Brownlow, pt. i, p. 353.)

XXII. LUCIUS I, A.D. 253-254

Emperors: VOLUSIAN, ÆMILIAN, VALERIAN, GALLIENUS, 252-260

LUCIUS, the successor of Cornelius in the Roman see, was a Roman, the son of Porphyrius, and had been one of the most important of the Roman clergy. He was no sooner elected bishop than he was banished from Rome by an imperial edict. Shortly afterwards, however, he was allowed to return, and was received with great joy by the Christians of Rome, who crowded out to meet him.

According to some accounts he had governed eight months, and to others only five, when he either suffered martyrdom or died in prison. He was buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus. Lucius is said to have followed Pope Cornelius in his mild treatment of the lapsed. His feast is kept on 4th March.

XXIII. STEPHEN I, 254-257

Emperors: ÆMILIAN, VALERIAN, GALLIENUS, 253-260

STEPHEN, the successor of Pope Lucius, was by birth a Roman, the son of Julius. Having served with great fidelity as a deacon under Popes Cornelius and Lucius, he was made treasurer of the funds of the Church.

Shortly after the elevation of Stephen letters arrived from Gaul, informing him that Marcian, Bishop of Arles, had embraced the heresy of Novatian by denying communion to repentant apostates even when these were at the point of death. It

appears that Stephen was at first disinclined to take any steps against Marcian, but being urged to do so by Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, he consented to exercise his claim to supremacy by deposing Marcian and appointing another bishop in his place.

Two Spanish bishops, Basilides and Martial, having denied the faith and sacrificed to idols during the Decian persecution, had been deposed from their sees. Basilides journeyed to Rome and induced Pope Stephen to restore him to his bishopric. Appeal was made to Carthage against the decision of the Pope, and Cyprian assembled a council of African bishops. It was agreed that whatever might be the leniency granted to apostate laymen, it was unfitting that lapsed clerics should continue to hold office.

During this pontificate a new controversy arose between the Churches of Rome and Carthage concerning the re-baptism of heretics. It was in connection with this controversy that Pope Stephen is said to have pronounced the famous dictum: "Nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est." Stephen held that re-baptism was unnecessary, and this view is still held by the Catholic Church.

Cyprian of Carthage mentioned that the baptism of those who had fallen into heresy was made null and void, and that they should be re-baptized by a Catholic minister from whatsoever sect they returned to the Church. The dispute waged fiercely for some time, and three different councils met at Carthage to consider the question, each of these successively giving their decision in favour of the view held by Cyprian. Stephen rejected the decisions of these councils with the utmost indignation, maintaining that the authority of the see of Peter was superior to that of any other. The dispute only ended with his death. Some writers state that Stephen suffered martyrdom during the persecution under Valerian; others that he died in prison.

XXIV. SIXTUS II, A.D. 257-258

Emperors: VALERIAN, GALLIENUS, 254-260

SIXTUS II or Xystus, who was chosen to succeed Stephen in the Roman see is said to have been a Greek of Athens, and was already aged at the time of his elevation to the papal

chair. He is described as "a good and pacific prelate." On the advice of Dionysius of Alexandria and other prelates, he abandoned the attitude of his predecessor with regard to the views of the African Church and the baptism of heretics, and the dispute ended. The African and Asiatic Churches retained the practice of re-baptizing heretics until it was condemned by the two great councils of Arles (314) and Nicaea (325).

The persecution which had begun under Stephen I continued to disturb the Church. The Emperor Valerian had been at first friendly to Christianity, but was afterwards influenced by pagan magicians to become a persecutor, and published two edicts against the Christians. The first forbade them to assemble for worship, and made their visits to cemeteries illegal. The second ordered all clerics to be put to death, Christian senators to be deprived of their rank and property, and court officials, who had embraced the faith, to be sold into slavery.

According to some historians Sixtus was seized when at prayer with his clergy in the Cemetery of Calixtus, was dragged to the place of execution, and immediately beheaded, along with six of his deacons (6th August 258). Sixtus had governed the Church only eleven months and a few days. It is related that St. Laurence, the senior deacon, who had followed his bishop as he was led away, imploring that he might accompany him, was taken a few days later, and roasted alive on a gridiron.

The famous Cyprian also suffered martyrdom near Carthage on 14th September of the same year. He had been a prisoner by order of the Emperor for some months before his death. He made no efforts to defend himself by his eloquence, and when told that he was to die by the sword, answered simply, "Thanks be to God."

XXV. DIONYSIUS, A.D. 259-269

Emperors: VALERIAN, GALLIENUS, 253-260; GALLIENUS, 260-268; CLAUDIUS II and QUINTILLUS, 268-270

AFTER the death of Sixtus, on 6th August 258, the Roman see remained vacant until 22nd July 259 when Dionysius, a presbyter of the Church of Rome, was elected bishop. He was a Greek, probably of obscure birth, and was remarkable for his learning and piety. It is said that he had been at one time a hermit.

During this pontificate the Emperor Valerian was defeated

and taken prisoner by the Persians. The barbarians then ravaged the Empire, overran all Asia Minor, and almost entirely destroyed the city of Caesarea. Most of the Christian inhabitants, including Firmilian, Bishop of that see, were carried into captivity. Dionysius wrote letters to comfort the sufferers, and also despatched fit persons bearing large sums of money, collected from the Christians of Rome, to ransom their brethren from the barbarians.

A long correspondence was carried on at this time between Dionysius of Rome, and his namesake, Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, concerning certain forms of heresy. A treatise written by Dionysius of Alexandria had appeared to some of the more zealous churchmen to support the Sabellian heresy, the characteristic dogma of which was that the Deity consisted in only one Person with three designations. The question was debated at a council of clergy, at which the Bishop of Rome presided, and letters were sent to Dionysius of Alexandria, informing him of the opposition to his opinions. Dionysius answered the accusation in a work of four books, known as "The Confutation" and "Apology," addressed to the Bishop of Rome, in which he showed that his opinions were quite contrary to what had been supposed.

In 260 Paul, a native of Samosata, had been appointed Bishop of Antioch. He introduced many innovations in the church services, appointed female singers for the choir, and permitted the congregation to applaud his eloquence by clapping their hands. He also maintained the heresy that there is no distinction of persons in the Godhead, and that the Son and Holy Ghost are in the Father in the same way as reason and spirit are in man. A synod of bishops from Syria, Asia, and Arabia met at Antioch in 264 to consider the case of Paul. Paul succeeded by his eloquence in veiling his heresies from the assembled bishops, and promised to abstain in future from anything likely to cause offence. He did not keep his word, however, and two more councils were held, after which the Bishops of Rome and Alexandria agreed in deposing Paul and appointing another bishop in his place.

Dionysius died on 26th December 269, having occupied the Roman see for ten years and some months. He was buried, according to the "Liber Pontificalis," in the Cemetery of Calixtus.

XXVI. FELIX I, A.D. 269?-274?

Emperor: AURELIAN, 270-275.

FELIX I, a Roman, the son of Constantius, was elected to succeed Dionysius in the see of Rome. Accounts differ as to the date and duration of his pontificate. Paul of Samosata, although deposed by a council of the Church (*vide* Dionysius) still insisted on retaining his position as bishop, and was supported by a large number of the Christians of Antioch. In 270 an appeal was made to the Emperor Aurelian to settle the dispute. He decided that the church and other buildings at Antioch retained by Paul should be handed over to the party in the Church which was in communion with the Bishops of Rome and Italy. Paul was accordingly ejected by force and another bishop installed.

Aurelian did not, however, show himself favourable towards the Christians, for shortly after this he was influenced by pagan priests to issue an edict against them. According to Eusebius the death of the Emperor stopped this edict from being carried into execution. (*Vide* Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," vii, 30, ed. Bohn, p. 292.) The "Liber Pontificalis" states that Pope Felix died a martyr. This statement, however, is believed to result from a confusion with a Roman martyr of the same name. (*Cf.* article on Felix I, by J. P. Kirsch in Cath. Ency., vol. vi.) Pope Felix was buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus.

About the year 270, Manes, a Persian began to teach his heretical doctrine in the East. He professed a divine origin, stating that he was the Paraclete sent by Jesus Christ, and associated with him twelve disciples. He rejected the Old Testament, and taught that there were two principles, God and Matter, entirely opposed to each other.

XXVII. EUTYCHIANUS, A.D. 275-283

Emperors: TACITUS, 275; FLORIAN and PROBUS, 276; CARUS, 282

EUTYCHIANUS, a Tuscan, the son of Maximus, was chosen Bishop of Rome at the beginning of the year 275. Very little that can be considered authentic is known concerning his acts. The "Liber Pontificalis" states that he ordered

the bodies of martyrs to be buried enveloped in purple tunics. He is stated to have buried no less than four hundred and sixty-two of those who had suffered for the faith. This statement, as well as the one that he suffered martyrdom himself, are considered to be of very doubtful authenticity, owing to the fact that no definite persecution of Christians is recorded at the time. A slab bearing the name of Eutychianus has been discovered in the Cemetery of Calixtus. (*Vide* "Roma Sotterranea," Northcote and Brownlow, pt. i, p. 302.) His feast is kept on 8th December.

XXVIII. CAIUS, A.D. 283-296

Emperors: CARUS, 282-283; CARINUS and NUMERIAN, 283-284; DIOCLETIAN, 284; DIOCLETIAN and MAXIMIAN, 286-305

CAIUS, a Dalmatian, the son of Caius, and according to the "Liber Pontificalis," a relative of the Emperor Diocletian, was elected Bishop of Rome in 283. He is said to have governed the Church with great wisdom and prudence for twelve years. Certain modern writers consider it probable that the profligate Emperor Carinus may have been responsible for the persecution under which the Church is said to have suffered during this pontificate, although early historians make no mention of it.

The "Liber Pontificalis" records, although on doubtful evidence, that during the Diocletian persecution Caius preserved his life by hiding in grottoes or underground crypts, with his brother Gabinus, a priest, and his niece Susanna. Being at length discovered, he suffered martyrdom along with these relatives.

It is also stated that Caius established the order of precedence of door-keeper, reader, exorcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, and presbyter, as stages necessary to be passed through before attaining the rank of bishop. From the same register we learn that he was buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus. The title of martyr is given to Caius by several writers, including Bede.

XXIX. MARCELLINUS, A.D. 296-304

Emperors: DIOCLETIAN and MAXIMIAN, 286-305:
CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, 305-306

MARCELLINUS, a Roman, the son of Projectus, was chosen to succeed Caius as Bishop of Rome. During this pontificate the bitter persecution decreed by the Emperor Diocletian afflicted the Church. Diocletian had been at first favourable to the Christians, but towards the end of his reign was persuaded by Pagan priests to turn against them. They were blamed for causing a fire which destroyed the imperial palace in Nicomedia, and also for preventing the gods from speaking through omens. This persecution, which began in February 303, was very widely spread throughout the Empire, and several thousands are said to have suffered martyrdom for their faith.

Eusebius states his belief that the Church was afflicted with God's permission, because of the vices and self-indulgence which had grown up among the clergy during the previous period of tranquillity, and also because of the hatred and bitterness with which they strove among themselves. (*Vide* Eusebius, "Eccles. Hist.," viii, 1, ed. Bohn, p. 301.)

An extraordinary story is told concerning Marcellinus in some of the ancient chronicles, and is repeated in the early Roman Breviaries, in the Lection for his festival, commemorated on 26th April. He is said to have been dragged to the heathen altar by the persecutors, and commanded with threats of torture to sacrifice to the gods. Overcome with fear, he consented to join in their idolatrous worship, and to deliver up the Holy Scriptures to be burned. His fall caused the greatest consternation in the churches, and a council of bishops met in a cavern at Sinuessa, a city of Campania, to consider what action was to be taken.

A work known as "The Acts of the Council of Sinuessa," which probably belongs to the beginning of the sixth century, and which is usually considered untrustworthy, gives many details concerning the trial of the Pope. It is there stated that three hundred bishops were present at this Council, before which Marcellinus appeared clothed in sackcloth, and besought that a just punishment should be inflicted on him for his cowardice. The assembled bishops, struck with horror, cried

with one voice, "Accuse yourself, judge yourself, the Roman see may be judged by none!" They also agreed that Marcellinus had lapsed in the same manner as St. Peter, and that he had sufficiently suffered for his fault. Marcellinus then divested himself of his episcopal dignity, and returned to Rome, where he boldly declared his faith, and soon afterwards suffered martyrdom.

Many writers believe this story to be wholly fabulous, and Augustine held it to have been invented at a later period by the African Donatists (*vide infra*, p. 25) to promote their own views. "The Acts of the Council of Sinuessa" show evidence of having been falsified in several places, and it is highly improbable that in a time of persecution such a large gathering of bishops could have assembled in the small town of Sinuessa. (*Cf.* J. Döllinger, "Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages," Eng. trans., pp. 79-85.) The "Liber Pontificalis" mentions the fall, penitence, and martyrdom of Marcellinus, and states that his body, along with those of two fellow-martyrs, was buried in the Cemetery of Priscilla, in a crypt near the tomb of St. Crescentius.

XXX. MARCELLUS I, A.D. 308-310

Joint Emperors: CONSTANTINE, GALERIUS, MAXENTIUS, and LICINIUS, 306-311

AFTER the death of Marcellinus the Roman see remained vacant for nearly three and a half years, owing to the persecution. On 19th May 308, Marcellus, by birth a Roman, of the region of the Via Lata, the son of Benedict, was appointed Bishop of Rome. He is said to have provoked much opposition during the first year of his pontificate by his efforts to restore discipline in the Church. The tyrant emperor Maxentius sent him into banishment, and it seems uncertain whether he died in exile or was allowed to return to Rome. His pontificate lasted one year, seven months, and twenty days. In the "Liber Pontificalis," and also in the Lections for his festival (16th January) in the Roman Breviary, it is stated that Maxentius ordered him to be beaten for refusing to sacrifice to the gods, and afterwards condemned him to work in the imperial stables, or, according to some accounts, in a menagerie of wild animals, as a slave. After being there for nine months, Marcellus is said to have either escaped or been ransomed by his

flock. He then lived for some time in hiding, celebrating mass daily in a house, given him by a holy widow named Lucina, which he had consecrated as a church. Maxentius, learning that Lucina had left all her wealth to the Christian Church, was filled with fury, and having again seized Marcellus, endeavoured with threats to induce him to renounce Christianity. Finding his efforts vain, he ordered the bishop to be again confined in the stables. This usage did not prevent Marcellus from keeping the usual times of prayer. The drudgery and foul stenches of the place where he was condemned to live soon brought on a fever, of which he died on 16th January 310. A church dedicated to Marcellus is said to have been afterwards built on the spot where the stable stood.

Modern writers throw considerable doubt on the authenticity of this story, but consider it highly probable that Marcellus was banished from Rome by Maxentius, who thus hoped to put an end to the disputes about the lapsed.

XXXI. EUSEBIUS, A.D. 310?

Joint Emperors: CONSTANTINE, GALERIUS, MAXENTIUS, and LICINIUS, 306-311

EUSEBIUS, a Greek, the son of a physician, was chosen to succeed Marcellus in the Roman see. According to the "Liber Pontificalis," his pontificate lasted six years and one month, but this appears to be a mistake, the majority of contemporary writers assigning to him a pontificate of from four to six months only. At this time a party, led by a certain Heraclius, who contended that the lapsed should be admitted to communion without a long and rigorous penance, caused disturbances in the Church. So bitter became the disputes concerning this matter, that riots and bloodshed took place in Rome. At length Pope Eusebius and Heraclius, as representing the leaders of the opposed factions, were both banished by order of the Emperor Maxentius. Eusebius was sent to Sicily, where he died, thus obtaining the title of Martyr. His body was brought to Rome, and is stated to have been buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus, but not in the papal crypt. This statement has been verified by De Rossi, who, during his labours of excavation in Rome, discovered this crypt, and in 1852 and 1856 also found fragments of a Latin inscription placed by Pope Damasus over the tomb of Pope Eusebius. References

to this inscription occur in the works of ancient historians. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 167, *note*; also article on Pope Eusebius, by James Bryce, D.C.L., in "Dict. of Christ. Biography.")

XXXII. MELCHIADES, A.D. 311-314

Emperors: CONSTANTINE, LICINIUS, and MAXENTIUS, to 312; CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, alone to 337

AFTER the death of Pope Eusebius, a vacancy of nine months, for which historians do not account, occurred in the Roman see. On 2nd July 311, Melchiades or Miltiades, an African, who had been a priest in the Roman Church, was elected Bishop.

What is known as "the conversion of the Emperor Constantine" to the Christian religion happened in this pontificate. The true history of this event has become somewhat obscured by the vast amount of legend which has grown up in connection with it. Soon after the battle of the Milvian Bridge (26th October 312), which resulted in the defeat and death of Maxentius and made Constantine sole emperor of the west, the latter issued an edict granting Christians liberty of worship, and permission to build churches. The same edict decreed that all church property which had been taken from the Christians during the persecution should be restored to them. By a second edict, issued at Milan in the beginning of the year 313, Constantine granted complete liberty to everyone to worship whatsoever divinity he pleased. In June of the same year Licinius, previously the colleague of Constantine, having made himself master of the eastern empire by the defeat of the usurper Maximius, caused the decree of Milan to be proclaimed in Nicomedia. Thus peace was restored to the Christian Churches both in the east and west.

Although the historian Eusebius declares that Constantine issued these edicts in obedience to a heavenly vision, which appeared to him as he was marching to Rome to attack Maxentius, it seems more probable from the progress made by Christianity by this time that he recognized its adoption as the imperial religion to be a prudent and popular measure. Moreover, the majority of historians state that almost to the end of his life Constantine remained as much pagan as Christian.

During this pontificate, the famous schism of the Donatists caused division in the Church of Carthage. Caecilianus, Bishop of Carthage, had been accused of favouring the Traditores, a name given to those who had delivered over the sacred books during the persecution. A party in Carthage had consequently separated themselves from the Church, and were known later as Donatists, from Donatus, a schismatic bishop, whom they appointed in opposition to Caecilianus. The main controversy of the Donatists centred in their belief that the validity of sacerdotal acts depended on the personal character of the agent. The edict of Constantine, which restored church property to the Christians, ignored the existence of the Donatists. This caused them much mortification, and they despatched a letter to Constantine setting forth the crimes of which they accused Caecilianus. From the writings of Augustine it appears that the Donatists believed Pope Marcellinus (*q.v.*), and with him his three presbyters, Marcellus, Melchiades, and Silvester to have been guilty of this same crime of delivering up the sacred scriptures and of offering incense to the heathen gods. They accordingly demanded that three bishops from Gaul, who were free from this imputation, should act as judges of Caecilianus.

Constantine granted their requests, but ordered that in addition to the three bishops from Gaul, Melchiades, Bishop of Rome, as well as certain other bishops, should assemble in Rome to consider the case. He also wrote to Melchiades expressing a wish that all the members of Christian churches might shortly be at unity.

The synod of bishops, nineteen in all, met in Rome, in the Lateran Palace, on 2nd October 313, and after three sittings, Caecilianus was fully acquitted of the charges brought against him. Constantine now hoped that peace had been restored within the Church, but the Donatists continued their disturbances within the Church for another half century, and maintained an independent existence outside the Church until the seventh century.

Melchiades died on 10th January 314, having presided over the Roman see for two and a half years. According to the "Liber Pontificalis," he was buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus in the Appian Way.

XXXIII. SYLVESTER, A.D. 314-335

Emperor: CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, alone, 312-337

SYLVESTER, a Roman, the son of Rufinus, was elected Bishop of Rome in 314. While few genuine records exist of the acts of this Pope, a great mass of legend has gathered around his history.

In the first year of this pontificate a council was held at Arles in Gaul, to consider the controversy of the Donatists, who had appealed against the decision of a former council. (*Vide* Melchiades.) Sylvester was represented at this council by two presbyters from Rome. At this meeting, Caecilianus, Bishop of Carthage, was again acquitted of the charges brought against him. It was also decreed that the festival of Easter should henceforth be held on the same day in all the churches throughout Christendom.

At Whitsuntide 325, the famous Council of Nicaea, the first of the great Œcumenical Councils of the Church was summoned by the Emperor Constantine, on the advice of the most eminent bishops, in order to decide a dispute, which had arisen in the Church of Alexandria, concerning the Trinity. Arius, a presbyter of the Church of Alexandria had taught that the Son, although perfect God, was neither co-eternal nor consubstantial with the Father. For some time the disputes concerning his teaching had seriously disturbed both clergy and laity. Constantine, being much troubled by these dissensions, agreed to convene a council of representatives of the whole Church at Nicaea in Bithynia. Although accounts vary, there were probably at least three hundred bishops present, as well as a large number of other clergy. The majority of these bishops came from Asiatic and Egyptian sees. Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, excused himself from being present on account of his great age, and was represented by Hosius of Cordova, who presided in his name, assisted by two Roman presbyters. It was a remarkable assembly. Many of the senior clerics present had lived through two terrible persecutions, and bore the marks of their sufferings. It is said that some uncovered wounds on their sides and backs, showing the marks of the instruments of torture. On others were traces of that peculiar cruelty which had distinguished the last persecution, such as the tearing out of the right eye, or the searing of the sinews of the leg to

prevent the escape of those who had been condemned to work in the mines. Dean Stanley, in his "History of the Eastern Church," says: "Both at this time and afterwards it was on their character as an army of confessors and martyrs, quite as much as on their character as an Œcumenical Council that their authority reposed. In this respect no other council could approach them, and in the whole proceedings of the assembly, the voice of an old confessor was received almost as an oracle."

The Emperor Constantine was himself present at this Council. Arius was called upon to express his opinions freely. His chief opponent was Athanasius, at this time a young man of twenty-five, a deacon in the Church of Alexandria.

It is not known whether the council sat for weeks or days, but after much heated discussion, the creed known as the Nicene, which, though some additional clauses have since been added, differed only slightly from that in use at the present day, was drawn up, and signed by all those present with the exception of Arius and two Eastern bishops. The aim of this creed was to refute the Arian heresy by setting forth the Son as being "Homoöusion," *i.e.* "of One Substance with the Father," "Very God of very God."

It was also resolved at this Council, that the Festival of Easter should henceforth be celebrated on the same day, both in the Eastern and Western Churches. Canons were passed affirming the supremacy of the Roman Church. Notwithstanding the decision of the Council of Nicaea, the Arian heresy continued to have advocates until the middle of the seventh century.

For the legendary history of this pontificate, a work known as the "Acts of St. Sylvester," and the famous document on which is inscribed, "The Donation of Constantine," furnish the chief materials. These fabulous acts are supposed to have been written about the end of the fifth century, and were commonly attributed to Pope Gelasus I (492-96). The original has not been preserved, and the existing edition purports to be a compilation from earlier documents. "The Donation" is supposed by Döllinger to have been forged between the years 752 and 777. Reference was made to it by Pope Hadrian I in 778, and from time to time by later popes in support of their claims. It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that Cardinal Baronius finally pronounced it to be a forgery, and his decision was accepted by the Catholic

Church. According to the ancient document the Donation was made by Constantine in the spring of 324, four days after his baptism by Pope Sylvester, as recorded in the fabulous Acts. It is stated that the Emperor, being smitten with leprosy on account of his crimes, was advised by the Jews to cleanse himself in a bath of children's blood. But before this cruel experiment could be tried, Sylvester, in obedience to a heavenly vision, sought the Emperor's presence and persuaded him to receive Christian baptism. By this means he was cured of his leprosy, and in gratitude to Pope Sylvester granted to him and his successors for ever, dominion over Rome, Italy and the Empire of the West. It is further stated that after these grants Constantine retired to Greece in order to leave Italy for the Pope.

The following are some of the grants made in the Donation:

1. Constantine desires to promote the Chair of Peter over the Empire by bestowing on it imperial power and honour.

2. The Chair of Peter shall have supreme authority over the patriarchal chairs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem and Constantinople, and over all churches in the world.

3. It shall be judge in all that concerns the service of God and the Christian Faith.

4. Instead of the diadem which the Emperor wished to place on the Pope's head, and which the Pope refused, Constantine has given to him and his successors the phrygium, *i.e.* the tiara and the lorum which adorned the Emperor's neck, and other gorgeous robes, and insignia of the imperial dignity.

5. Constantine gives up the remaining sovereignty over Rome, Italy, or the Western Regions to Pope Sylvester and his successors.

All historians agree that Constantine was never baptized in Rome. His baptism did not take place until the year 337, when, being at the point of death in Nicomedia, he received that sacrament at the hands of Eusebius, the Arian bishop of that province.

But though the actual donation was fabulous, there was a substratum of fact beneath it. As is well known, Constantine, about the year 330, removed the capital of his empire from Rome to Byzantium, where he founded the city of Constantinople. Before leaving Rome for the last time the Emperor made over to the Holy See the Lateran Palace, and probably some estates adjoining it. The removal of the court to Constantinople freed the Church in Rome from the tyranny to which the

Eastern Church was to some extent exposed. Pope Sylvester, "the hero of so much religious fable," died on the last day of the year 335, after a pontificate of twenty-one years and eleven months. He was buried in the Cemetery of St. Priscilla in Rome.

Notwithstanding the fact that Constantine's baptism in Rome is well known to be legendary, the spot on which it is pretended to have taken place is marked in the church of St. John Lateran, by an obelisk, on which is the following inscription:

Constantine per crucem victor
A S. Sylvestri hic baptizatus
Crucem gloriam propagavit.

(*Vide* Döllinger, "Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages," Eng. trans., p. 103.)

XXXIV. MARK, A.D. 336

Emperor: CONSTANTINE THE GREAT, to 337

MARK, a Roman, the son of Priscus, was chosen Bishop of Rome, on 18th January 336, and governed only nine months. During this pontificate Arius died, but his heresy continued to disturb the Church. (*Vide* Sylvester.)

The "Liber Pontificalis" records that Pope Mark was the first to decree that the Bishop of Ostia should consecrate the Bishop of Rome, and carry the pallium. The authenticity of the statement is considered doubtful, but it is certain that the Bishops of Ostia enjoyed this privilege from a very early date.

Mark I died in October 336, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Balbina in the Via Ardeatina, in a basilica which he had built, and which he constituted a cemetery. This is supposed to mean that he attached a priest to the basilica, and placed the burial ground under his jurisdiction, thus raising it to the dignity of a public cemetery of the church. Pope Mark I also built a church said to be near the Pallacina. This appears to have been the name of a street or quarter in Rome, and is mentioned in Cicero and other writers. It was probably near the Capitol on the site of the Flaminian Circus. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 203 *note;* "Roma Sotterranea," Northcote and Brownlow, pt. i, p. 164; and Burn's "Rome and the Campagna," p. 321, *note B.*)

XXXV. JULIUS I, A.D. 337-352

Emperors: CONSTANTINE II, CONSTANTIUS II, CONSTANS, from 337; CONSTANTIUS II and CONSTANS, 340-350; CONSTANTIUS II to 361

AFTER the death of Mark, the Roman see remained vacant for four months. On 6th February 337, Julius I, a Roman, son of Rusticus, was elected Bishop of Rome. The death of Constantine the Great in 337 left the Empire to be divided between his three sons. Constantine II, the eldest, received the western portion with Gaul, Britain, Spain, and part of Africa; Constantius governed the Eastern countries with Thrace; while Constans ruled Italy, Illyricum, and Africa. The most important events of this pontificate were the trial and defence of St. Athanasius of Alexandria by the Bishop of Rome, and the Council of Sardica.

In 326 St. Athanasius (*vide* Sylvester) had been elected Bishop of Alexandria, but was deposed from his office in 335 on account of charges brought against him by the Arian party. In 338 Constantine II wrote to the Alexandrians a letter, in which he stated that acting on the wishes of his late father, expressed before his death, he had decided to restore St. Athanasius to the see of Alexandria. St. Athanasius accordingly returned from exile, and was welcomed with great joy by his flock. Shortly afterwards, however, a section of the Arians again united against him under the leadership of Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. These Eusebians wrote letters to the three emperors, and also to the Bishop of Rome, stating that they were now prepared to prove the charges brought against St. Athanasius, and offering to submit the case to the judgement of Pope Julius. St. Athanasius was accordingly summoned to Rome, and appeared before a Council which met there either in the year 340 or 341. The Eusebians, contrary to their agreement, did not attend this Council, but held one of their own at Antioch, where they again condemned St. Athanasius, and elected another bishop in his room. By the Council of Rome St. Athanasius was unanimously acquitted. While this Council was still sitting, Pope Julius received an insolent letter from the Eusebians, in which, after heaping ironical tributes of praise on the Roman see, they declared that as the first evangelists came from the East, their own Church might well claim to be looked on as inferior to none. In conclusion they threatened to separate from communion

with Pope Julius, unless he ceased to communicate with the bishops whom they had deposed.

On the advice of the assembled prelates, Pope Julius replied to the Eusebians by a letter dignified in tone, in which he charged them with having acted without the authority of their brethren of the West. He also declared that they should have applied to him in the first instance, "so that from here what is just may be defined." This letter made no impression on the Eusebians, and St. Athanasius remained in Rome, where he obtained great influence over the Pope, and was warmly supported by nearly all the Churches of the West.

The defeat and death of Constantine II in 340 left Constans sole Emperor in the West. In 343 St. Athanasius was summoned to meet the Emperor Constans at Milan, to confer respecting the meeting of a General Council to judge his case.

This Council met at Sardica, the metropolis of Dacia, in Illyricum, according to some accounts, in the year 347, although certain writers place it as early as 343. The Eastern bishops, who arrived, refused to be present on hearing that St. Athanasius was to be permitted to defend himself. This prevented the Council from being in the strict sense œcumenical. Pope Julius was represented by three Italian bishops, the president being the venerable Hosius of Cordova, who twenty years previously had presided at the Council of Nicaea. At this Council St. Athanasius and his followers were unanimously acquitted, and the bishops who had replaced them were deposed and excommunicated. The Council of Sardica also passed twenty-one canons of discipline, of which three acknowledged the rights of the Bishop of Rome. The scope of these canons was afterwards enlarged to grant the Roman bishop the perpetual prerogative of summoning at will all cases to be heard before himself in Rome.

According to the majority of writers, it was not until nearly three years after the meeting of the Council of Sardica that political interests induced the Emperor Constantius to restore St. Athanasius to his see of Alexandria, where he was once more welcomed with great joy by his flock. A beautiful letter written by Pope Julius is extant in which he congratulates the people of Alexandria on the restoration of their bishop. He assures them that their beloved bishop, all the more glorious because of his sufferings, had been restored to them in answer to their faithful prayers. Pope Julius I died on 12th April 352. He is said to have been buried in the Cemetery of Calixtus,

but his body was removed in the twelfth century to the church of St. Maria in Trastevere.

Some writers, including Bede, state that Julius was banished for ten months by the Emperor Constantius, and was only allowed to return after that Emperor's death. As it is well known that Constantius survived Julius, this statement is evidently erroneous.

XXXVI. LIBERIUS, A.D. 352-366

(FELIX, ANTIPOPE? 352-361)

Emperors: CONSTANTIUS II, 350-361; JULIAN, 361-363; JOVIAN, 363-364; VALENTINIAN I and VALENS, 364-375

LIBERIUS, a Roman, the son of Augustus, was chosen to succeed Julius in the Roman see on 22nd May 352. The assassination of Constans in 350 by the soldiers of the usurper Magnentius, had united the Eastern and Western Empire under Constantius, who was a strong supporter of Arianism. The Arians, joined by many bishops, who had previously pretended to recant the heresy, now lost no time in placing before the Emperor fresh charges against their great opponent, St. Athanasius of Alexandria. (*Vide* Sylvester.) St. Athanasius was summoned to attend a Council in Rome, and on his refusal to come is said to have been condemned by Pope Liberius. The authenticity of this statement, however, appears doubtful, since shortly afterwards Liberius boldly championed the cause of St. Athanasius.

The Emperor Constantius now succeeded in winning over, probably under pressure, a large number of Western bishops to Arianism, and at a Council of three hundred prelates held at Milan in 355, St. Athanasius was unanimously condemned to exile.

Pope Liberius refused to submit to the decrees of this Council, and was summoned to appear before the Emperor at Milan. The Romans rose in his defence, but he was apprehended secretly by night, and conveyed to Milan. There he dauntlessly refused to submit to the Emperor, and was condemned to exile at Berea in Thrace. It is said that before his departure the Emperor sent him a gift of five hundred gold pieces for his expenses on the way, but Liberius scornfully

refused it saying, "Let him keep it to pay his soldiers. As for us, Christ, *who is in all things like unto the Father*, supports us and gives us all that is needful." Thus did Liberius resolutely repudiate the Arian heresy. His banishment was a great triumph to the Arian party, and St. Athanasius was obliged to seek refuge among the hermits of Egypt.

Meantime the Arians, with the imperial sanction, ordained Felix, a deacon in the Roman Church, Bishop of Rome in place of Liberius. Although conflicting accounts are given by different historians, it seems probable that a considerable number of the Roman clergy acquiesced in the consecration of Felix.

Two years after Liberius had been sent into banishment, Constantius paid a visit to Rome. Many noble Roman matrons importuned their husbands to intercede with the Emperor on behalf of Pope Liberius. The husbands, fearing to approach the Arian Emperor with such a request, suggested that the matrons should themselves undertake the mission. A deputation of noble Roman dames, attired in their richest apparel, accordingly waited on Constantius, and made the request that Liberius might be restored to his see, declaring that no one in Rome would enter a church where Felix was, on account of his holding communion with the Arians.

As a result of this deputation, Constantius was induced to issue a decree for the restoration of Liberius, but ordered that he should govern the Church of Rome jointly with Felix. Meantime a message was conveyed to Liberius from the Emperor, requiring that as a condition of his return to Rome he should renounce orthodoxy, and cease to defend St. Athanasius.

It is believed that, broken in spirit by the sufferings of his exile, or acting under compulsion, Liberius promised what was required of him. He is said to have been conveyed next to Sirmium, where the Emperor then was, and forced to sign a declaration supporting the Arian heresy. Catholic writers hold, however, that the story of the fall of Liberius has no foundation. Döllinger shows that the story was probably invented to extenuate the action of the Roman clergy, who afterwards adhered to Felix. (*Vide* "Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages," Eng. trans., p. 189.)

In 338 Liberius arrived in Rome, and it is generally stated that Felix was soon forced by the riots and menaces of the people to leave the city. He afterwards returned, however, and

Constantius again endeavoured to introduce his system of dividing the Roman see between the two prelates. In the end the Emperor was obliged to give way, owing to the scenes of bloodshed between the rival parties.

The death of Constantius in 361 once more left the orthodox free from persecution, and St. Athanasius was again restored to the see of Alexandria. A Council held at Alexandria in 362, reasserted the orthodox faith, and restored the lapsed to communion.

The Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore was founded by Liberius and John, a Roman patrician. One of the Pope's last recorded acts was to restore to communion with the Roman Church a number of semi-Arians who had been persecuted by the Arian Emperor Valens for only partially accepting his heresy, and who now decided to accept the Nicene Creed.

Liberius died on 22nd September 366, having governed the Church of Rome, if the period of his exile is to be included, for fourteen years and five months.

XXXVII. FELIX II (ANTIPOPE?), A.D. 356-358?

Emperor: CONSTANTIUS II, 353-361

ALTHOUGH the account of Felix given under Liberius (p. 33) is the one generally accepted by the historians, an entirely different history of this Pope seems at a later period to have been introduced into the annals of the Catholic Church.

The Roman Martyrology commemorates Felix II on 29th July as pope and martyr. In the section for his festival in the Roman Breviary Felix is stated to have governed for one year and two months, to have been expelled from his see by the Arian Emperor Constantius because of his defence of the Catholic faith, and to have fallen gloriously, being secretly slain with the sword at Cera, in Tuscany. A similar account is given in the "Liber Pontificalis," where Constantius seems to be confused with Constantine. This account follows that given in two works of uncertain date and authenticity, known as "The Acts of Felix" and "The Acts of Eusebius." It is of course quite impossible to reconcile such an account with the one given by St. Athanasius, who describes Felix as a monster whom the malice of the Anti-Christ had placed in the Roman see.

The majority of historians state that after the final expulsion

of Felix from Rome he retired to a small estate which he had near Portus, and there died tranquilly in 365. It is also said of him that he was himself orthodox and upheld the Nicene Creed, although communicating with the Arians.

It is recorded that during the pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572-1585), a prolonged dispute took place regarding the right of Felix II to be placed in the list of popes. Cardinal Baronius is said to have composed an elaborate treatise showing that Felix had no claim to the title either of pope or martyr. Thereupon certain persons resolved to dig secretly under the church of SS. Cosmas and Damiano in Rome. Their labours were rewarded by the discovery of a great marble tomb, on one side of which were found relics of the holy martyrs, Mark, Marcellian and Tranquillinus, and on the other side a body with the inscription: "The body of St. Felix II, Pope and Martyr, whom Constantius condemned." This discovery, happening on the vigil of the festival of Felix, was naturally regarded as a miracle, and Baronius hastened to retract all he had written concerning this saint. Since that time Felix II has been placed on the registers of popes recognized by the Catholic Church. (*Cf.* Döllinger's "Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages," Eng. trans., pp. 181-205.) A Catholic writer suggests that the distortion of facts here cited probably arose from the confusion of the Antipope Felix with Felix, a Roman martyr of an earlier date, who was buried in the Via Aurelia.

XXXVIII. DAMASUS, A.D. 366-384

(URSICINUS, ANTIPOPE)

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS to 375; GRATIAN, 375-383; and VALENTINIAN II, 375-392; (East) THEODOSIUS, 379-395

THE contentious factions which had disturbed the previous pontificate broke out with increased violence on the death of Liberius. Damasus, who was now chosen Bishop of Rome, was elected by the party who had been favourable to Felix II (*q.v.*). The presbyters, deacons, and laity, who had remained faithful to Liberius in his exile and after his return assembled in the Julian Basilica, and elected a rival pope named Ursicinus, who was consecrated by Paul, Bishop of Tibur. According to some accounts the election of Ursicinus took place before that of Damasus. Damasus was a Spaniard,

the son of Antonius, a scribe. He was over sixty years of age at the time of his election, and seems to have obtained popularity by steering a middle course between the contending factions. In 355 he had followed Liberius into exile in Thrace (*vide supra*), but had afterwards returned to Rome, where he joined the supporters of Felix.

The first years of his pontificate were marked by scenes of bloodshed between his party and that of the Antipope Ursicinus. A riot took place on the occasion of his election, when several persons were killed. Three weeks later, seven presbyters belonging to the party of the Antipope were seized and conveyed to the Lateran Palace, where they were imprisoned. They were rescued, however, by their own faction and taken to the Basilica of Liberius. Damasus is said to have proceeded thither at the head of a mob armed with clubs, axes, and swords, to have stormed the church, and mercilessly slain a hundred and sixty persons of both sexes. The strife was not confined to Rome, but extended even to the provinces.

Juventius, the Prefect of Rome, finding that he was unable to stop the tumults, withdrew from the city. In September, 367, Ursicinus was banished from Rome, but shortly afterwards returned, and in December of the same year another sanguinary combat took place in the church of St. Agnes. The Antipope's party vainly petitioned for a synod to examine into the validity of the two elections. Although Ursicinus was again banished, he returned from exile more than once, and it was several years before Damasus was in undisputed possession of his see.

Pope Damasus seems to have been strongly supported by the female population of Rome, which fact gave occasion for his enemies to arraign him before a synod on a charge of incontinence. He was, however, honourably acquitted, and appears to have been deeply respected not only in Rome, but throughout Christendom, as a staunch supporter of the orthodox faith.

At this time the offerings and legacies bestowed by wealthy persons on the Church became so immoderate that in 370 Valentinian, Emperor of the West, issued a decree forbidding clergy to receive from members of their flock any donation, legacy, or grant of land to the Church. Whatever was so given or accepted was to be forfeited to the public treasury. This decree was ordered to be read in all the churches in Rome on 29th July 370.

In the following year the Emperor Valentinian passed another law acknowledging the right of the Bishop of Rome to judge all ecclesiastical disputes, and forbidding Christian priests to be judged by those who were of a different religion.

During this pontificate the great St. Jerome, famous for his learning and as the author of the first Latin version of the Scriptures, lived in Rome, and held the position of secretary to Pope Damasus. A deep attachment seems to have existed between St. Jerome and the Pope, and in the writings of the former Damasus is constantly referred to in terms of affection and praise. St. Jerome speaks of him as "that illustrious man," "the virgin doctor of a virgin church."

It was with the advice and encouragement of Damasus that St. Jerome undertook to prepare his Latin translation of the Bible, a work of supreme importance in the history of the Church. This work rendered the Western churches independent of the Eastern, and had the greatest influence in establishing Latin as the language of the Church.

A schism divided the Church of Antioch at this time, Meletius and Paulinus being the two rival bishops. Damasus, on being urged by Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, to decide between the rivals, gave his decision in favour of Paulinus. This caused great indignation among those who adhered to Meletius, and the schism continued.

In 377 a great council held in Rome condemned for heresy Apollinarius, Bishop of Laodicea, and two of his disciples. He had taught that the body of the Saviour was immortal, and could not therefore have been born of the Virgin Mary. His birth, passion, and death were therefore illusions, or else the Divine nature was capable of being acted upon by external agents. A council was assembled at Constantinople in 381 for the purpose of deliberating on the proper means of restoring tranquillity to the Eastern churches, and also of putting an end to the schism at Antioch. But although Meletius died while the council was sitting, a successor was appointed to him, and it thus failed to attain its object. Several important canons were passed, one of which conferred on the Patriarch of Constantinople privileges similar to those which were enjoyed by the Bishop of Rome. In the following year another council met in Rome to deal with the schism at Antioch, but did not succeed in healing it (*vide infra*).

The work by which Damasus will be longest remembered by posterity is his labour in the catacombs of Rome. During the

persecutions the tombs of the martyrs had been walled up by the Christians in order to preserve them from violation. To make the tombs more easy of access to pilgrims, he widened the galleries which led to them, caused a new staircase to be constructed, and opened new shafts to admit more light and air. The roofs he caused to be supported where necessary with walls and arches of brick. "He also wrote short sets of verses in which he commemorates the glorious deeds and sufferings of the martyrs, and caused them to be engraved at various shrines on marble slabs by a very able artist, Furiens Dionysius Filocalus." As all these inscriptions are evidently the work of the same hand, the "Damasene character" is a type easily recognizable by students of Christian epigraphy. By order of Pope Damasus the work of drainage of the Vatican Hill was also carried out, and the tombs of St. Peter and other saints thus preserved from damage by floods. (*Vide* "Roma Sotterranea," by Northcote and Brownlow, pt. i, p. 303.)

Before his death he caused his own tomb to be prepared above the catacomb of Calixtus. From the following epitaph which he composed for it, it would seem that his humility made him deem his own ashes unworthy to mingle with those of the saints: "Hic fateor Damasus volui mea condere membra, sed timui sanctos cineres vexare priorum." (*Vide ibid.*, p. 175.) Damasus died on 11th December 384, after a pontificate of eighteen years. He is honoured in the church of St. Lorenzo in Damaso, although it is not known whether his body was removed thither. (*Cf.* F. Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," Eng. trans., p. 160.)

XXXIX. SIRICIUS, A.D. 384-398

Emperors: (East) THEODOSIUS I, 379-395: ARCADIUS, 395-408; (West) HONORIUS, 395-423

SIRICIUS, a Roman, the son of Tibertius, was chosen to succeed Damasus as Bishop of Rome. The Antipope Ursicinus, who was still alive (*vide* Damasus), now attempted to revive his claims, but was scornfully rejected by the Roman people.

The first of the Papal decretals which has an undoubted claim to authenticity belongs to this pontificate. These decretals, which afterwards became laws to the Western Church, consisted of pastoral charges or replies of popes upon matters

of religious practice or discipline referred to them by various inquirers. At a later period these decretals came to have an authority such as was assigned to the decrees of emperors.

In the ninth century, when the desire arose to establish by documentary evidence the authority of the popes as continuous from the time of St. Peter, a collection of fifty-nine decretals appeared, which had previously been unknown to exist, and which were said to have been collected by Isidorus of Seville, an eminent canon lawyer, who died in 636. These claimed to be letters written by twenty of the earliest popes from Clement to Melchiades, and represent as promulgated by them many doctrines only known at a later period. All modern critics agree that these Isidorian decretals are not genuine as a collection, and were forged subsequently to 829, as they contain references to a council held in Paris in that year. They represent, however, a mosaic of phrases taken from various works authentic in themselves, and are believed to have been compiled by a cleric in France about the middle of the ninth century. The aim of the writer was to furnish documentary evidence for the claims made by the Roman see.

The authentic collection of decretals to which these spurious letters were prefixed begins by an epistle written by Pope Siricius. This was a reply to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona in Spain, who had addressed a letter to Damasus, which arrived after the death of that pontiff. The most important part of this decretal is that which forbids the marriage of the clergy. No priest who had been married was to be henceforth eligible for promotion to a higher rank.

Another authentic letter of Pope Siricius exists, addressed to all the orthodox in Christendom, dealing with the subject of clerical ordinations. In this he condemns the choice of wealthy men as bishops. Both these letters point to the growth of a principle of asceticism which the spirit of monasticism was then encouraging in the Church.

Throughout his pontificate of nearly fourteen years Siricius laboured to restore order in the Church and to suppress heresy. The most famous of the heresies condemned during this pontificate was that of the monk Jovinian, who is remarkable as being the first Western heretic, all previous heresies having been promulgated by Greeks, Chaldeans, or Syrians. Jovinian taught that none who with a lively faith were regenerated by baptism could afterwards be overcome by the devil,

and also that virgins, matrons, and widows were all equal as regards merit. He was banished to Boas, an island off the coast of Dalmatia, where he died in 406. St. Jerome, who had left Rome during this pontificate and retired to Palestine, wrote a work in two books against the doctrine of Jovinian.

Siricius convened a council of eighty bishops in Rome, when several important canons of discipline were passed. It was decreed that no one should presume to ordain a bishop without the knowledge of the Roman see, and that no one should be permitted to enter holy orders who after his baptism had served in the army.

An unsuccessful attempt was made to end the schism at Antioch by a council held at Capua in 391. It was not until seven years later that the efforts of John Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, were at length successful in healing this schism. Siricius died on 26th November 398.

Baronius quotes an epitaph of this pope in which he is described as tender and compassionate, and as having laboured with untiring devotion for the welfare of the people committed to his charge.

XL. ANASTASIUS I, A.D. 399-401

Emperors: (E.) ARCADIUS, 395-408; (W.) HONORIUS, 395-423

ANASTASIUS, a Roman, son of Maximus, was consecrated Bishop of Rome in 399. Very little is known concerning this pope, and his pontificate seems to have been uneventful. St. Jerome writes of him in terms of the highest praise, calling him an eminent man (*vir insignis*), of whom Rome was not worthy, and who was taken away from the evil to come. Some writers state that the tribute paid him by St. Jerome was chiefly due to his having sided with the latter against Rufinus, a presbyter of Aquileia. Rufinus had earned the disapproval of St. Jerome by undertaking a defence of the writings of Origen (185-253), of which he was a great admirer. Between St. Jerome and Rufinus a prolonged epistolary warfare waged, and ended in Origen's being condemned as a heretic nearly a hundred and fifty years after his death by Pope Anastasius.

Anastasius died, according to the "Liber Pontificalis," on 19th December 401, having governed the Church of Rome for about two years.

The Church of Carthage continued to be disturbed by theological quarrels taking place at this time between the Catholics and the Donatists.

XLI. INNOCENT I, A.D. 402-417

Emperors: (E.) ARCADIUS to 408: THEODOSIUS II, 408-450; (W.) HONORIUS, 395-423

INNOCENT I, who was chosen Bishop of Rome in 402, is generally stated to have been the son of another Innocent, and a native of Albano.

At the time of Innocent's accession, the empire was divided between the two sons of Theodosius, Arcadius reigning in the east, and Honorius in the west. Honorius, who was now only eighteen years of age, ruled chiefly under the direction of the famous general Stilicho. In 404 the youthful and feeble-minded Emperor, fearing danger to his person from the invading Goths, fixed his residence in the well-protected fortress of Ravenna upon the Adriatic. His example was followed by his successors, by the Gothic kings, and by the exarchs of Ravenna, and the bishops of Rome were thus left free to rule the western capital.

Innocent I, who was a prelate of resolute character and earnest piety, lost no opportunity of asserting his claims over other churches. Forty-two letters attributed to him are extant, and of these the greater number are undoubtedly genuine. To the bishops of Illyricum, Gaul, and Spain he writes in tones of authority.

In the year 400 a council had been held at Toledo in Spain, in order to deal with converts from the Priscillian heresy returning to the Church. Two bishops so returning had been restored to their sees, but certain of the Spanish clergy refused to communicate with them. Hilary, a Spanish bishop, journeyed along with a priest to Rome, and laid the matter before Pope Innocent. Although not authorized to do so by the council Innocent wrote to the bishops condemning those who had refused to communicate with the restored prelates.

In 404 John, Bishop of Constantinople, a prelate of the highest integrity, surnamed Chrysostom or the "golden mouthed" on account of his eloquence, was banished from his see through the intrigues of the profligate Empress Eudoxia and others, whom he had offended by reproving their vices.

Pope Innocent I, as well as the Western Emperor Honorius, warmly espoused the cause of Chrysostom; but a deputation sent from Rome to the East to plead the cause of the latter was coldly received, and the legates ignominiously treated.

At the end of three years' exile at Cucusus in Lesser Armenia, an order was sent for the removal of Chrysostom to the desert region of Pityus in Pontus. But he died on the way at Comana in Pontus (407). The chief event of this pontificate was the capture of Rome by the Goths in 410. The genius of the famous general Stilicho had hitherto kept the Goths in check, but after his murder the weak and incapable ministers of Honorius soon gave the Gothic King Alaric a pretext for renewing the war.

In the autumn of 408 Alaric besieged Rome, and reduced the city to the last extremities of famine. It was at length proposed to offer Alaric the enormous ransom of 5,000 pieces of gold, 30,000 of silver, 4,000 silken robes, 3,000 pieces of scarlet cloth, and 3,000 pounds of pepper, on condition that he would raise the siege. These terms were accepted, two deputations having been sent by the Roman citizens to the Emperor at Ravenna, imploring him to agree to them. Pope Innocent accompanied the second of these deputations, and apparently remained in Ravenna, being thus absent from Rome when the city was afterwards taken.

When Alaric withdrew his troops to Tuscany his army was increased by 40,000 escaped Roman slaves, who had joined him. During the winter that followed, the obstinacy of the ministers of Honorius prevented any satisfactory settlement being made with the Goths. In 409 Alaric again advanced against Rome, and seized the port of Ostia, where the corn from Africa was stored in granaries for the supply of the capital. The terrors of famine then induced the senate to agree to his proposal of placing Attalus, Prefect of the city, on the imperial throne instead of the weak Honorius. Attalus did not, however, retain his sovereignty long, for, having lost the favour of Alaric, he was soon degraded from his dignity.

At length, in August 410, Alaric with his army again appeared before the walls of Rome. At midnight on 24th August the Salarian gate was treacherously opened to the invaders, and the Gothic king with his army entered the city. For three days Rome was delivered over to pillage by the Gothic troops, and by the 40,000 Roman slaves who now wreaked their revenge on their former masters.

It was, however, on the pagan population that the ruin chiefly fell. Alaric, though an Arian, was a Christian, and while his troops were permitted to ravage and destroy the pagan temples and palaces without mercy, the majority of Christian edifices, including the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, remained untouched.

After the retreat of the victorious Goths, Innocent I returned to Rome, and entered with great zeal into the work of comforting the afflicted and encouraging the faithful in their adversity.

During the last years of Innocent's pontificate, the African Church was much disturbed by the heresy of the monk Pelagius, who is said to have been a native of Britain. In 416 letters were sent to Innocent I from Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, famous as the author of "The City of God," and from four other African bishops, calling on him to join them in condemning the Pelagian heresy, which repudiates the doctrine of original sin and maintains man's spiritual independence. The reply of Innocent is dated January 417, and in it, while condemning the heresy, he takes the opportunity of praising the African bishops because, mindful of the dignity of the Apostolic see, they had appealed to the Chair of St. Peter. Innocent I died on 12th March 417, after a pontificate of nearly fifteen years.

XLII. ZOSIMUS, A.D. 417-418

Emperors: (E.) THEODOSIUS II, 408-450; (W.) HONORIUS, 395-423

ZOSIMUS, a Greek, said to be the son of a priest named Abraham, was elected Bishop of Rome on 18th March 417. He was very aged at the time of his elevation, and governed the Roman see only one year and nine months. His pontificate was disturbed by the continuance of the Pelagian controversy and also by disputes in the churches of Southern Gaul and Africa.

Pelagius wrote to the Bishop of Rome in defence of his doctrine, and his disciple Coelestius, who was now in Rome, seems to have persuaded Zosimus that the Pelagians had been unjustly condemned. The Pope therefore declared Pelagius and his disciple to be good Catholics, and deposed Heros and Lazarus, two bishops of Gaul who had brought accusations against the Pelagian doctrine. These doctrines were publicly read in Rome, and the Fathers of the Church acknowledged

that the two brethren previously condemned were in reality true sons of the Church.

A council of African bishops held at Carthage in March 418 repudiated the acceptance of the Pelagian heresy, and referred to the judgement of Pope Innocent I (*q.v.*) by whom these doctrines had been condemned. Some writers state that this council induced the Emperor to condemn the Pelagian heresy. Zosimus, now realizing that his decision had been too hasty, ordered Coelestius to appear again before him, the latter had in the meantime withdrawn from Rome. Zosimus now sent letters to all the African bishops condemning the two authors of the Pelagian heresy, and sentencing to deposition all bishops who supported them. The clergy of Rome also withdrew their approval of the doctrine, the pernicious nature of which they now understood more clearly. Eighteen bishops refused to join in this condemnation, the most noted among these being Julianus, Bishop of Eclana in Campania, who afterwards became the founder of the sect known as the semi-Pelagians. The eighteen bishops, including Julianus, were exiled from their sees by an imperial edict.

Apiarus, a priest of Mauritania who had been excommunicated by his bishop, Urbanus of Sicca, appealed to Zosimus, and the latter sent three of his legates to Africa to inquire into the matter. These bore letters from the Pope summoning Urbanus to Rome, and also asserting that the right of the Roman see to receive appeals had been acknowledged by the Council of Nicaea.

The bishops of Carthage assembled in a synod indignantly repudiated the claims of the Pope, and are said to have discovered, after investigation, that no such canon as that quoted by Zosimus had been passed at Nicaea. The writers who accuse Zosimus of dishonesty in this matter omit, however, to note that the canon to which he referred was one actually passed by the Council of Sardica in 347 (?) (*vide* Julius I), and that all the canons then passed were appended to those of Nicaea, and regarded as forming part of them. The case of Apiarus was still unsettled at the time of the death of Zosimus.

A dispute had continued for some time between the bishops of Arles and Vienne, who contended for jurisdiction over certain provinces in Gaul. A synod held at Turin had decided against the claim of Arles to exclusive jurisdiction over these provinces. Patroclus, who had been elected Bishop of Arles in 412, induced Zosimus to reverse the decision of the Council

of Turin, and to grant him full jurisdiction over the provinces of Vienne, the two provinces of Narbonne, and all territories subject to the city of Arles. Bishops Hilary of Narbonne, Proculus of Marseilles, and Simplicius of Vienne, refused to acknowledge the authority of Zosimus in this matter. Hilary and Simplicius were afterwards induced to give way, but Proculus held out. On him Zosimus passed sentence of deposition and excommunication, but he remained, in spite of this sentence, in possession of his see, and was recognized as lawful bishop of Marseilles by the bishops of Gaul and Africa.

During his last illness Zosimus was subject to prolonged catalepsies, which so much resembled death that he was often supposed to be dead before he actually expired. He passed away on 26th December 418 and was buried in the church of St. Laurence in the Via Tiburtina.

XLIII. BONIFACE I, A.D. 418-422

(EULALIUS, ANTIPOPE)

Emperors: (E.) THEODOSIUS II, 408-450; (W.) HONORIUS, 395-423; VALENTINIAN III, 424-455

THE death of Zosimus was followed by a contest between two rival candidates for the pontifical chair, the increasing importance of which now made papal elections an occasion of much excitement throughout the whole city.

It appears that immediately after the death of Zosimus three bishops and a small number of clergy met in the Lateran Palace and elected Archdeacon Eulalius to the Roman see. On the same day or the next (28th December 418) the majority of the Roman clergy, including nine bishops and seventy presbyters, assembled in the church of St. Theodora and elected Boniface, a Roman presbyter, the son of Jocundus. He was immediately afterwards taken to the church of St. Marcellus, and there consecrated.

Symmachus, the Prefect of Rome, fearing disturbances, wrote for instructions to the Emperor Honorius at Ravenna. In his report of the double election he stated that the Archdeacon Eulalius had been duly elected Pope, but that a number of presbyters accompanied by a mob had afterwards gone to the church of St. Theodora and chosen a rival priest named Boniface.

The Emperor in his reply, dated 3rd January 419, accepts the report given by Symmachus, and orders Boniface to leave Rome. Some accounts state that he was summoned to Ravenna. Boniface withdrew, but went no farther than the church of St. Paul without the walls. His departure left the party of his rival free to take possession of the church of St. Peter, where Eulalius celebrated mass.

Meantime the Roman presbyters, discovering that Symmachus, out of a desire to favour Eulalius, had misrepresented the matter to the Emperor, despatched to Honorius a true account of the election of Boniface. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 53.) On 15th January Honorius issued a rescript commanding both prelates to withdraw from Rome until an impartial synod of bishops from Italy, Gaul, and Africa could meet to decide the case. Symmachus then wrote to the Emperor, representing himself as entirely free from bias with regard to the two candidates.

As the festival of Easter was now approaching, Honorius appointed Achilleus, Bishop of Spoleto, to officiate in the Roman see during the vacancy. Eulalius, enraged on hearing of the approach of Achilleus, hastened to Rome by night with a large escort, seized the church of St. John Lateran, and there celebrated the sacred rites in defiance of the Emperor's orders.

Honorius, on hearing of this, declared that Eulalius had forfeited his claims, and he accordingly confirmed the election of Boniface I as Bishop of Rome. Eulalius acquiesced in the decision of the Emperor, and made no further attempts to usurp the papal chair. He is said to have afterwards been chosen Bishop of Nepote, and to have died in 423. As Boniface was already aged, and threatened by serious illness, one of his first acts was to induce the Emperor to publish a rescript by which it was decreed that in the event of a double election in future both candidates should be considered ineligible, and the clergy and people should proceed to a new choice.

Boniface withdrew the jurisdiction granted by his predecessor to the see of Arles, and his decision in this matter was afterwards approved by Leo I. A dispute arose in the Church of Corinth at this time respecting the election of Bishop Perigenes to that see. Although his election had been approved by the Pope, the Eastern Emperor Theodosius II decreed that a council should meet to consider the dispute, with appeal to the Bishop of Constantinople. This decision roused the aged

Pope to great indignation. In a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Thessalonica, he declared that no assembly could be rightly called without the consent of the Pope or his legate, and that the decision of the Roman see was in all cases final. He further stated that the sees of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch all held precedence of that of Constantinople. Boniface I died on 4th September 422, and was buried in the Cemetery of St. Felicitas on the Via Salaria. His feast is kept on 25th October.

XLIV. CELESTINE I, A.D. 422-432

Emperors: (E.) THEODOSIUS II, 408-450; (W.) VALENTINIAN III, 424-455

AFTER the death of Boniface I, the Antipope Eulalius was invited by certain of the Roman clergy to renew his claim, but he refused to return to Rome, and died in the following year. Celestine, the son of Priscus, by birth a Roman, a deacon of the Church, was then chosen Bishop of Rome. He was a virtuous and learned man, lacking neither experience nor capacity to govern the Church.

About the end of the year 429 the famous Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople, began to spread his doctrine. He denied the title of "Mother of God" to the Virgin Mary, but allowed to her that of "Mother of Christ," his reason being that he held it impossible for the Eternal and Co-equal Word to have been born of a woman in the ordinary sense. This doctrine led to a prolonged and bitter controversy which lasted several years, and in which nearly every prelate of note in Christendom took part. The great opponent of Nestorius was Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, who for over a year endeavoured, by his letters and sermons, to rouse Christendom against this doctrine. In 430 both Cyril and Nestorius referred the matter to Pope Celestine. The latter assembled a council in Rome, at which the doctrine of Nestorius was condemned, and letters were sent to Nestorius threatening him with excommunication if he refused to recant. As he persisted in his heresy, decrees of excommunication were issued against him in December 430.

Nestorius now used his influence with the young Eastern Emperor Theodosius II to induce him to convene a General Council to deal with the dispute. This council, which is

reckoned the third of the œcumenical councils of the Church, met at Ephesus at Whitsuntide 431, and was attended by over one hundred and fifty prelates. Cyril of Alexandria was authorized to act on behalf of Pope Celestine. Nestorius refused to appear before his accusers until the arrival of John of Antioch and other Syrian bishops. As their arrival was unduly delayed, Cyril insisted on proceeding with the council, and at the first session Nestorius was condemned as a heretic. His condemnation was received with shouts of joy, and the prelates were escorted back to their lodgings with torches, while women went before burning incense.

The Syrian bishops on their arrival held a council of their own, at which they declared null the decrees of the council of Ephesus, and sentenced Cyril, along with Memnon, Bishop of Ephesus, to be deposed and excommunicated. Pope Celestine sent letters approving the action of Cyril, and riots, accompanied by bloodshed, took place between the opposed parties.

Theodosius II, much perplexed by conflicting reports, ordered Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon to leave Ephesus. He then agreed to receive a deputation of eight prelates from each faction at Chalcedon, a suburb of Constantinople. After due deliberation, Nestorius was condemned, and was permitted to retire to a monastery near Antioch. His followers afterwards spread to Persia, India, Arabia, and China. A sect known as Nestorians, who are supposed to adhere to the ancient doctrine, still inhabit the mountainous districts of Persia and Turkey.

In the year 430 Celestine sent St. Germanus to Gaul in order to combat semi-Pelagianism, which had spread to that country. He also sent St. Palladius on an apostolic mission to Scotland and Ireland, having heard that the Pelagian heresy had been promulgated in those islands. After the death of Palladius in 432, Celestine is said to have sent St. Patrick to Ireland as his successor.

A number of important decretals written by Pope Celestine are extant. In the early part of his pontificate he despatched several remarkable letters to the bishops of Narbonne and Vienne concerning certain abuses which had arisen in the churches in Gaul, such as the wearing of unsuitable dresses by prelates, the refusal of the sacraments to dying penitents, and the ordination of bishops from the laity without their having passed through the lower degrees of clerical orders.

Celestine is said to have treated the followers of Novatian in Rome with great harshness. Previous to his pontificate this sect

had become very flourishing, and were in possession of several fine churches. Celestine obliged their bishop, Rusticola, to hold his services in private houses. (*Vide* article on Celestine I, by Rev. Wm. Bright, D.D., in "Dict. of Christ. Biog.")

Pope Celestine died on 6th April 432, having governed the Roman Church for ten years. He was buried in the cemetery of St. Priscilla in Rome.

XLV. SIXTUS III, A.D. 432-440

Emperors: (E.) THEODOSIUS II, 408-450; (W.) VALENTINIAN III, 424-455

SIXTUS, a Roman, the son of Sixtus, was chosen to succeed Celestine as Bishop of Rome. For some years previous to his election he had been well known in the Church as a presbyter of considerable eminence and ability. Under Zosimus (*q.v.*) he had at first sided with that bishop in favour of the Pelagians, but had afterwards concurred with him in condemning them. During the pontificate of his predecessor Celestine, Sixtus had shown great zeal in condemning the Nestorians.

One of the first acts of Sixtus after his election was to write to Maximian, who had been raised to the see of Constantinople after the deposition of Nestorius, expressing his approval of the judgement passed at the council of Ephesus. He also endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between the bishops of Syria and Egypt, who had espoused the cause of their respective leaders, John of Antioch and Cyril of Alexandria. (*Vide* Celestine I.) In this, however, he failed; but in order to restore tranquillity to the Church, Theodosius II obliged the contentious prelates to submit to a form of reconciliation. At a later period John of Antioch obtained an imperial edict ordering all who refused to sign the condemnation of Nestorius or to communicate with the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch to be driven from their sees.

During the pontificate of Sixtus III the bishops of eastern Illyricum, who, since the time of Pope Damasus, had been under the jurisdiction of the Roman see, attempted to regain their independence. The Pope would not, however, consent to their doing so, and at length prevailed on them, by his letters, to acquiesce in preventing a disturbance in the Church with regard to this matter.

The "Liber Pontificalis" records that Sixtus III was extremely active in building and beautifying many sacred edifices in Rome. He enlarged the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and built the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and made gifts to these churches of many precious vessels and ornaments. He also built a monastery near the catacombs for the celebration of masses.

In an epistle written by Pope Hadrian I (771-795) to the Emperor Charlemagne in support of the veneration of images, reference is made to the building and decoration of St. Maria Maggiore by Sixtus III. In the same epistle reference is also made to a golden monument with images of the Saviour and the twelve apostles, which at the request of Sixtus is said to have been placed by Valentinian III over the shrine of St. Peter in the Vatican. Sixtus is also recorded to have beautified the font of the Lateran with porphyry columns, on which he caused to be inscribed Latin verses setting forth the teaching of the Church respecting baptism. In the Cemetery of Calixtus, Sixtus placed a porphyry column inscribed with the names of the twenty bishops and martyrs buried there. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, pp. 233-237 *notes.*) Sixtus III died on 18th August 440, and was buried in the church of S. Lorenzo, which he had built.

XLVI. LEO I (THE GREAT), A.D. 440-461

Emperors: (E.) THEODOSIUS II, 408-450: MARCIAN, 450-457: LEO I, 457-474; (W.) VALENTINIAN III, 424-455: MAXIMUS, AVITUS, MAJORIAN.

THE pontificate of Leo the Great is looked upon as one of the great epochs in the history of the Christian Church. Called to the pontifical chair at the time of a crisis in the affairs of the empire, the unusual ability and singleness of aim of this remarkable prelate rendered his influence one of the main forces in the making of the history of this period.

Leo, according to his own account, was a Roman, although the "Liber Pontificalis" states that he was a Tuscan and the son of Quintian. Judging from the scholarly and polished Latin of his works, of which ninety-six sermons and over one hundred and seventy letters are extant, he was a man of superior literary education, although unacquainted with Greek. In the

year 418 he had been employed, while still an acolyte, to carry letters to the African churches respecting the Pelagian heresy, and at the time of his elevation to the Papacy had attained the prominent position of Archdeacon of the Roman Church.

When the death of Sixtus III rendered the Roman see vacant, Leo was absent in Gaul, having been sent thither on an attempt to reconcile the two rival generals, Aëtius and Albinus, whose quarrel had endangered the dominion of Rome in Gaul. Although Leo was at so great a distance, the unanimous choice of the Roman clergy and people at once fell on him. On his return six weeks later he was received with demonstrations of joy, and was consecrated on Sunday 29th September 440.

Throughout his pontificate of twenty-one years, his untiring efforts were devoted to the one aim of exalting the dignity of the Roman see. During the first years of his reign he manifested much zeal against the heresy of the Manicheans, or followers of Manes, who, by teaching that matter was essentially evil, hence denied the possibility of the Incarnation. In the year 444 this sect was diligently sought out, and their disciples proscribed and banished from Rome if they refused to recant.

The question of the jurisdiction of the see of Arles had been a subject of dispute in previous pontificates, and again arose in the year 448, when Leo came in conflict with St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles, a virtuous and eminent prelate, who, however, appears to have usurped the prerogative of his superiors. In order to support his authority in Gaul, Leo obtained from the emperor, Valentinian III, a rescript, declaring that the peace of the Church could not be secured until men with one consent recognized the dominion of the see of Peter.

Nine years previous to the commencement of Leo's pontificate the council of Ephesus had condemned the heresy of Nestorius. (*Vide* Celestine I.) One of the keenest antagonists of Nestorius had been Eutyches, the aged head of a monastery in Constantinople. In his zeal to confute this heresy he seems himself to have fallen into error, and to have denied that in Christ Incarnate there was a real human nature. This involved the denial of the whole doctrine on which salvation depends.

In a synod held at Constantinople in November 448, Eutyches was accused of heresy by Eusebius, Bishop of Dory leum. Flavian, Archbishop of Constantinople, who presided, was induced to summon Eutyches before the synod, though disposed to treat him mercifully.

Eutyches at first refused on various pretexts to appear but

at length presented himself, escorted by a crowd of soldiers and monks, and with an imperial order for a certain official named Florian to defend him, before the synod. In spite of these precautions the synod pronounced sentence of deposition and excommunication against him. Eutyches now appealed to Pope Leo against the judgement of the synod, but the latter, on receiving a true account of the matter, supported Flavian. In June 449 Leo dispatched from Rome what is now known as "The Tome of St. Leo." This work is in the form of an epistle addressed to Flavian, but was really intended for all clergy throughout the world. In it he drew up in a masterly manner a concise statement of the true doctrine of the Incarnation. Pope Gregory the Great afterwards pronounced anathema against any one who denied the teaching of "The Tome of St. Leo."

Meantime the Eastern Emperor, Theodosius II, had been induced to support Eutyches, and summoned a council at Ephesus in 449 to deal with the case. At this council, which is known in history as "The Robber Synod," the Pope was represented by three legates, Julius, Bishop of Puteoli, Juratus a presbyter who died on the road, and Hilary a deacon, afterwards Pope. Three hundred and sixty bishops and clergy are said to have been present, but the prelates who had condemned Eutyches were excluded by an imperial order. The proceedings soon degenerated into uproar and confusion. It is said that the bishops present were compelled by force to acquit Eutyches and to sign the deposition of Flavian and Eusebius. Hilary alone had the courage to utter the one word "Contradictur," and Flavian calmly pronounced his appeal to an impartial synod of the Church. In the midst of the confusion Hilary escaped from Ephesus, and, travelling by unfrequented roads, reached Rome in October, bringing tidings of what had taken place to the Pope. Flavian also escaped from Ephesus, but exhausted either by bodily wounds or mental suffering, died a few days later at a remote village in Lydia.

In July 450 letters were dispatched by Pope Leo to Theodosius II begging that another œcumenical council might be summoned in Italy to repeal the acts of the "Robber Synod." But before those letters reached him the Emperor died from the effects of a fall from his horse. He was succeeded by his sister Pulcheria, who after her accession married the brave general Marcian, and admitted him to a share in the government of the empire.

The exiled bishops who had adhered to Flavian were now recalled to their sees, and the Pope, looking on the matter as settled, declared that he saw no further need for a council. Marcian was determined, however, that a council should be held, and issued orders to that effect. The bishops, to the number of five hundred and twenty, assembled at Nicaea in September 451, but for the convenience of Marcian they adjourned to Chalcedon, where the council was opened on 8th October. In this council four legates, sent by Pope Leo, occupied the first place.

The first act of the council of Chalcedon was to annul all the decrees of the "Robber Synod." At the second session "The Tome of St. Leo" was read and was received with acclamations of joy. "This is the belief of the Fathers and of the Apostles! So believe we all!" they cried. The final session of this council was attended by Pulcheria and Marcian, and two edicts were passed, the first forbidding the future agitation of such questions as tended to tumult, and the second confirming all the proceedings of the council.

Thirty canons of discipline were also passed at this council. The twenty-eighth of these asserted the supremacy of the see of Constantinople to be co-equal with that of Rome, which was declared to have derived its importance not on account of its foundation by St. Peter, but solely as the bishopric of the imperial city. This canon roused much indignation in the Roman Church, and has been refused all validity in the west. The Pope, however, confirmed the other decrees of the council. From this time the letters of Leo make frequent reference to the arrogance and presumption of Anatolius, who had been chosen to succeed Flavian in the see of Constantinople.

In the year 452 another barbarian invasion desolated the Roman Empire. The Huns, on account of their hideous and hardly human aspect, as well as by the resistlessness of their advance, inspired the Roman mind with dread. Their king, Attila, called by his victims the "scourge of God," with his large head and small though piercing eyes, was a typical specimen of his Mongolian race. After ravaging the Eastern Empire, and subduing the Goths and Teutons, the Huns were met and defeated by the great general Aëtius at the battle of Chalons. This only served to check their advance for a time, and having devastated Lombardy, they marched on Rome. The vicious and cowardly emperor, Valentinian III, fled at their approach, and Aëtius, suspected of treachery, seems to have

been at least powerless to defend the city. In this extremity an embassy, accompanied by Pope Leo, set out to meet the barbarian. They found Attila on the shores of Lake Benacus. Overawed as it is said by the dignity of the venerable Pontiff in his white robes, Attila consented to receive a yearly tribute and to retire from Italy with his host. His death in the following year dissolved his army. Legend declares the submission of Attila to have been due to the apparition of the Apostle Peter, who stood by the side of the Pontiff with a drawn sword in his hand.

Three years later Pope Leo again appeared as the protector of the city. In March 455 the depraved emperor, Valentinian III, was murdered in Rome. Maximus the Senator, who had been concerned in the murder, proclaimed himself emperor and compelled the widowed Empress Eudoxia to become his wife. Determining to take her revenge, she sent a secret message to Genseric, King of the Vandals, who had conquered Africa and Sicily, and who presently landed with a powerful army at the mouth of the Tiber. Maximus was murdered in an insurrection in the city, but the Vandals, once in Italy, refused to depart without sacking Rome. Leo, at the head of a peaceful embassy of the clergy, went forth to meet the invader. Although the entreaties of Leo could not save Rome, Genseric consented to make certain concessions to the Pontiff. Accounts differ as to these, but it is generally stated that Genseric agreed to spare the lives of those who offered no resistance, to guard the buildings from conflagration, and to protect the prisoners from torture. The pillage, however, continued for fourteen days, and all that remained of the Pagan temples since the sack of Rome by the Goths became the prey of the Vandals. The golden table and the seven-branched golden candlestick, which Titus had brought from the Holy of Holies in Jerusalem, were taken from the Temple of Peace and carried away by the Goths. When Genseric returned to Carthage with his vast store of plunder, he took with him many thousands of slaves, among whom was the Empress Eudoxia, whose invitation had brought him to Rome.

In letters written towards the close of his life, Leo expresses apprehension lest his "Tome," which had been translated into Greek, should give his enemies cause to suppose that he favoured Nestorianism. This anxiety induced him to prepare another epistle, which is almost of as much theological value as the "Tome," and in which he exhibits the truth as a mean

between Eutychianism on the one hand and Nestorianism on the other.

Before his death in 461, Leo had the happiness of seeing peace restored in the churches of the west. He was buried in the former basilica of St. Peter's, and his tomb is still venerated in the present church, though it has been moved more than once from its original site. His festival is commemorated on 11th April. In 1754 Pope Benedict XIV conferred on Leo the Great the title of a "doctor of the Church."

XLVII. HILARY, A.D. 461-467

Emperors: (E.) LEO I, 457-474; (W.) ANTHEMIUS, 467-472

HILARY, a native of Sardinia, the son of Crispus, succeeded Leo I in the see of Rome. At the time of his elevation he was Archdeacon of Rome, and had been one of the legates sent by Leo I to the "Robber Synod" at Ephesus. (*Vide* Leo I.) Escaping thence in disguise, he had made his way back to Rome on foot, travelling only by night and by unfrequented roads. His conduct on this occasion gained for him the title of "Confessor." After his elevation to the papal chair, he caused to be built in the Lateran a magnificent chapel in honour of St. John, whom he is said to have invoked as his protector at the time of his escape from Ephesus. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 245 *note*.) His pontificate was chiefly memorable for his assertion of the supremacy of the see of Rome over other churches, notably those of Gaul and Spain.

Leo I had obtained from the Emperor Valentinian III a rescript confirming to the full the authority of the Roman see in Gaul and elsewhere. At the time of Hilary's accession, Leontius, Bishop of Arles, wrote a cordial letter to the Pope, apparently desirous of showing entire submission to the see of Rome. Later, however, both Leontius and also Mamertus, Bishop of Vienne, fell under the displeasure of Hilary. Mamertus had taken upon himself to ordain the Bishop of Die in Dauphiné without having obtained the papal sanction. Hilary wrote to Leontius censuring him with regard to the actions of Mamertus. The Bishop of Die was permitted to retain his see, but was deprived of the right to confer ordination.

In 465 Irenaeus, an eminent and gifted prelate, had been

nominated by the Bishop of Barcelona, on his death-bed, as his successor, and had been afterwards elected to that see by the clergy and people. Hilary, at the head of a Roman synod, refused to confirm the election of Irenaeus, on the ground that the handing down of sees by testamentary bequest was a dangerous precedent.

In 467 Anthemius was chosen by the Eastern Court as Emperor of the West, and dispatched to Rome. Among the favourites who accompanied him thither was a certain Philotheus, who had embraced the Macedonian heresy, denying the divinity of the Holy Ghost. Philotheus used all his influence with the Emperor to obtain liberty not only for his own sect, but for all Christians, to worship in the manner which they believed to be most pleasing to God. The news that such a decree had been passed roused in Pope Hilary the utmost horror and indignation, as he looked on it as being the toleration of heresy. From a letter to Pope Gelasius (492-96) we learn that Hilary presented himself before the Emperor in the church of St. Peter, and by his expostulations induced Anthemius to annul his decree before it took effect. This was one of the last acts of Pope Hilary's life. He died on 10th September 467, having governed the Roman see six years and some months. He was buried near the tomb of Sixtus III in the church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina.

It is stated that he ordered decorations to be carried out in several churches in Rome, to which also he made many costly gifts. The foundation of the monastery of St. Laurence and of two libraries is also ascribed to this pope. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 245.)

XLVIII. SIMPLICIUS, A.D. 467-483

Emperors: (E.) LEO I, 457-474: ZENO, 474-491

ON 20th September 467, ten days after the death of Hilary, Simplicius, a native of Tibur, the son of Castinus, was elected Bishop of Rome. During this pontificate the Western Emperor Romulus (called Augustulus), who had been the nominee of the Eastern Court, was forced to resign his throne, which was usurped by the barbarian Odoacer. The latter abolished the office of Emperor of the West, and ruled as King of Italy. Being himself an Arian, Odoacer did not interfere in the affairs of the Roman Church, which remained little affected

by these great political changes. This pontificate was marked by the commencement of the breach between Rome and Constantinople, which in the reign of the next pope was to lead to the long schism of the Eastern and Western Churches.

In 474 the Eastern Emperor, Leo I, was succeeded by his son-in-law Zeno, whose reign was interrupted from 475-477 by the usurpation of Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of Leo. Basiliscus restored all the Eutychian prelates to their sees, and issued an encyclical letter rejecting the decrees of the council of Chalcedon. A large number of eastern bishops were induced to side with Basiliscus, while Acacius of Constantinople, a very able prelate, headed the orthodox party. Timotheus of Alexandria, surnamed Aelurus (the cat) one of the restored Eutychians, was excommunicated by Acacius. Riots took place in Constantinople, and Daniel Stylites, one of the pillar saints of this period, was induced to descend from his column in order to stir up further the populace.

In 477 Zeno, profiting by these disturbances, succeeded in recovering his throne, and the orthodox party once more received imperial support. In 482 the Emperor Zeno issued his famous "Henoticon," or Edict of Union, in which he made an attempt to reconcile the Eutychians with the orthodox party by proffering a vague statement of belief which both might accept.

Timotheus Aelurus having died, fresh disputes arose in Alexandria between John Talaias and Peter Mongus, or the Stammerer, two rival candidates for the vacant see. Talaias, having been driven out by Mongus, appealed to the Pope, who espoused his cause and wrote in his favour to Acacius of Constantinople. The latter, however, replied that he had already received Mongus to his communion, and by so doing had acted for the peace of the Church and by order of the Emperor. Simplicius replied with great firmness, declaring that Acacius had no right to receive a heretic to his communion, for although Mongus, who had been a Eutychian, now pretended to accept the orthodox faith, he still repudiated the decrees of Chalcedon and the "Tome of St. Leo." Soon after the dispatch of this letter Simplicius died, leaving the dispute to be settled by his successor. He was buried in the church of St. Peter, and is commemorated as a "Confessor" by the Roman calendar on 2nd March. The "Liber Pontificalis" records that he presented golden chalices to St. Peter's and other churches in Rome.

XLIX. FELIX III, A.D. 483-492

Emperors: (E.) LEO I to 474; ZENO, 474-491

A RECORD exists of a Council held under Pope Symmachus (498-514) (*q.v.*), at which a protest was made against the interference of laymen with the election of a pope. In reference to this protest the record gives certain details respecting the election of Felix III, the successor of Simplicius. It is stated that in March 483 the clergy assembled for the purpose of electing a new pope. After the voting had commenced the proceedings were interrupted by the entrance of General Basilius, lieutenant to King Odoacer. This official stated that on his death-bed Pope Simplicius had entreated him not to allow any election to take place without his advice and approval, in case of public disturbances. He thereupon caused a decree to be read forbidding the bishop who should be elected, or his successors, to alienate any possessions or valuables belonging to the Church, and declaring all such bequests void. When this had been read the clergy again proceeded to vote, and Caelius Felix, a Roman, the son of a presbyter likewise named Felix, was elected Bishop of Rome. At the council held under Pope Symmachus, a decree was passed rendering all that had been done at the election of Felix III through lay interference null and void, but re-enacting the law against the alienation of farms and all other Church property. (*Cf.* article on Felix III, by Rev. James Barmby, B.D., in "Dict. of Christ. Biog.")

The first act of Felix III was an indignant rejection of the "Henoticon" of the Emperor Zeno. (*Vide* Simplicius.) He warmly espoused the cause of his predecessor against the Eastern Churches, and his action in this matter finally led to the great schism which was to separate the Churches of East and West for thirty-five years. John Talaias (*vide* Simplicius), who was now in Rome, was favourably received by the Pope, to whom he presented a petition respecting the disorders in the Church of Alexandria. Felix III assembled a synod, at which it was decreed that legates should be sent to Constantinople bearing letters from the Pope to Acacius, the bishop, and to the Emperor Zeno. It is stated that Acacius was summoned by the Pope to appear in Rome or to appoint some one to appear for him to answer the charge of communicating with heretics. (*Vide*

Simplicius.) Felix also wrote to Peter the Fuller of Antioch, arraigning him for heresy.

On their arrival in the East the papal legates were won over by bribes to communicate with Zeno and Acacius. News of this having reached Felix, he assembled a council of sixty-seven bishops, at which he excommunicated and deposed the legates. This council then proceeded to the trial and condemnation of Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople. On 28th July 484 the decree of excommunication was drawn up against him and signed by all the bishops present; by whom he was condemned not for heresy, but for communicating with heretics. Tutus, an elderly cleric, was chosen to convey this decree to Constantinople. He travelled by night and secretly. Fearing on his arrival to present the letter of Felix openly, he fastened it to the robes of Acacius while that prelate was celebrating mass. Another account states that Tutus, like the legates, was won over by bribes to communicate with Acacius. The letter was, however, fastened to the robes of Acacius by one of the "Sleepless monks," who were zealous champions of Felix. Acacius quietly proceeded with the service, and at its close pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against the Bishop of Rome. Acacius was supported in his action by the Emperor, by the whole Church of Constantinople with the exception of a few abbots and monks, who remained faithful to the Catholic Church, and by all the bishops of the East. Thus began the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches.

In 489 Acacius died, and an unsuccessful attempt was made by his successor, Fravitas, to end the schism. Felix III refused to agree to a reconciliation until the name of Acacius should be erased from the roll of lawful bishops, and to this the deputation sent by Fravitas could not give consent. Euphemius, the successor of Fravitas, made a second attempt to heal the schism, but this also proved unsuccessful.

Felix laboured to restore order to the African Churches, which had suffered persecution from the Arian Vandals. In 488 he assembled a synod of thirty-eight bishops in Rome, and a synodal letter was prepared laying down the terms of re-admission to the Church of those African Christians who had allowed themselves to be re-baptized by the Arians.

Felix III died in 492, having governed the Roman Church for nearly nine years. He was buried in the church of St. Paul without the walls.

L. GELASIUS I, A.D. 492-496

Emperor: ANASTASIUS I, 491-518
King of Italy: THEODORIC the Ostrogoth, 493-526

GELASIUS, the successor of Felix III, is stated in the "Liber Pontificalis" to have been an African, the son of Valerius, although in his letters he calls himself a Roman. During his pontificate of four years and some months he maintained towards the see of Constantinople an attitude even more stern and inexorable than that of his predecessor. (*Vide* Felix III.) In reply to a letter from Euphemius, Bishop of Constantinople, expressing an earnest desire for reconciliation between the Churches, Gelasius wrote demanding as the absolutely essential condition of peace the erasure of the name of Acacius from the roll of bishops. Until such time as this should be done the Pope declared Euphemius to be excommunicated, along with all those who respected the memory of Acacius. From the time of his receiving this letter, which he evidently accepted as final, Euphemius made no further efforts to end the schism.

In the following year (493) Theodoric, the new King of Italy, sent an embassy to Constantinople, under the leadership of Faustus and Irenaeus, two Romans of the highest rank. By them Gelasius took the opportunity of dispatching a letter addressed to all bishops of the Eastern Churches, in which he offers a lengthy justification of his attitude towards Acacius, quoting the canons of the council of Sardica, which had been attached to those of Nicaea. (*Vide* Julius I.) After the return to Rome of the ambassadors, who are said to have brought a friendly message from the Emperor Anastasius to the Pope, the latter addressed a remarkable letter to the Emperor. In this he states that there are two powers which rule the world, the imperial and the pontifical. "The pontifical is the greater of the two, inasmuch as that at the day of judgement it has to give account for the acts of kings. Since obedience is due from the faithful to all worthy bishops, how much the more ought they to submit to the judgement of the Apostolic See whom God has established as the first of all." The Pope also wrote in a similar tone to the bishops of Eastern Illyricum and Dardania. In his epistle to the latter he describes the Bishop of Constantinople as "a pitiful suffragan of Heraclea."

At a council held in Rome in 494, Gelasius re-admitted to the Church Misenus of Cumae, who had been excommunicated

for supporting Acacius and his followers. In a lengthy speech pronounced before this council, the Pope declared that the retention of the name of Acacius on the diptychs was equivalent to granting him absolution after death, and this the Church had no power to do.

Gelasius died in 496, and was buried in St. Peter's.

In addition to his letters certain authentic treatises exist composed by this pope. In one of these addressed to a senator named Andromachus, Gelasius condemns the revival of the old heathen festival known as the Lupercalia. A desire for its revival seems to have arisen among the people of Rome, who attributed to its discontinuance certain maladies then prevalent. It is said that the feast of Candlemas, kept on the same day, was afterwards substituted for the heathen festival. (*Vide* F. Bruys, "Histoire des Papes," vol. i, p. 264.)

A Sacramentary in several books, supposed to be nine hundred years old, was found in the library of Christina, Queen of Sweden, who died at Rome in 1689. It was published in 1690, and is generally accepted as a copy of the Sacramentary of Gelasius. Duchesne considers that the statement made in the "Liber Pontificalis" that Gelasius wrote five books against the heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches to be of doubtful authenticity. He, however, wrote a short treatise against these heresies. (*Cf.* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 257 *note.*)

LI. ANASTASIUS II, A.D. 496-498

Emperor: ANASTASIUS I, 491-518
King of Italy: THEODORIC the Ostrogoth, 493-526

ANASTASIUS, the son of a Roman citizen named Peter, was chosen to succeed Gelasius in the Roman see. He adopted towards the Church of Constantinople a more conciliatory policy than that of his two immediate predecessors, and had he lived longer would probably have succeeded in ending the schism. (*Vide* Felix III.)

In 497 the Pope sent two legates to the imperial court, Cresconius of Todi, and Germanus of Capua, men distinguished for their piety and moderation. With them went also a patrician named Festus, sent by King Theodoric to Constantinople on affairs of state. Pope Anastasius sent by the legates a letter to the Emperor, in which he urged that for the

sake of a dead man, namely Acacius, the Church should no longer be rent asunder. He proposed that the name of Acacius should be passed over in silence rather than publicly erased from the diptychs, but recognized the validity of baptisms and ordinations administered by that bishop. (*Vide* Jaffé's "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 95.) The embassy was received in Constantinople with every mark of respect. Festus seems to have supported the Emperor in his refusal to erase the name of Acacius from the diptychs, but is said to have promised privately that on his return to Rome he would not only bring the Pope to a complete reconciliation, but would also persuade him to accept the "Henoticon" of Zeno. (*Vide* Felix III.) But when Festus returned to Rome he found that Pope Anastasius was dead. Some Catholic writers declare that he died suddenly, as a punishment for having received into his communion Photinus, a deacon of Thessalonica, a zealous supporter of Acacius. He was buried in St. Peter's.

For his conciliatory policy Anastasius earned the condemnation of posterity, and Dante beholds him in a vision suffering in hell for his leniency towards the heresy of Acacius. (*Vide* "Inferno," xi, 4; Döllinger, "Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages.")

An event which was to have the greatest importance on the future history of the Church took place during this pontificate. Clovis, King of the Franks, having embraced Christianity, is said to have been baptized on the same day as Anastasius II ascended the pontifical throne. There exists the copy of a letter said to have been written by the Pope to Clovis, congratulating him that through the grace of God he had been enlightened to accept the faith. It is now generally believed, however, that this letter is a forgery of the seventeenth century.

It is related that after the baptism had taken place, St. Remigius, Bishop of Rheims, preached before the King on the subject of the Crucifixion. On hearing of the suffering and death of our Saviour, Clovis was moved to cry out, "Had I and my faithful Franks been there, they had not dared to do it!"

LII. SYMMACHUS, A.D. 498-514

(LAURENTIUS, ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: ANASTASIUS I, 491-518
King of Italy: THEODORIC the Ostrogoth, 493-526

THE death of Anastasius II left the Church in Rome divided into two factions. One headed by the patrician Festus supported concession to Constantinople, while the other favoured the unyielding attitude adopted by the predecessors of Athanasius II (*q.v.*). The natural consequence of this was that a few days after the death of Anastasius a double election took place in Rome, the orthodox party electing the deacon Symmachus, a Sardinian, son of Fortunatus; and the opposite party Laurentius, a Roman archpresbyter.

While the majority of the clergy adhered to Symmachus, a large number of influential laymen seem to have been on the side of Laurentius. Riots took place in Rome between the rival parties, and it was at length decided to refer the settlement of the dispute to King Theodoric, who, although an Arian, was a good and wise ruler of Italy. He advised that whichever candidate could be shown to have had the greater number of votes, or to have been first consecrated, should be declared the true Pope. Symmachus was accordingly proclaimed.

Although Laurentius then retired into exile for a time, his partisans only watched for an opportunity to renew the strife. In the year 500 the Pope was charged with several crimes, including incontinence and fraudulent appropriation of Church property. The riots recommenced in Rome, and fighting was renewed in the streets. Theodoric wisely refused to interfere in the dispute, but at the request of the Senate he dispatched to Rome Peter, Bishop of Altinum, to judge the cause of the Pope. Peter arrived in Rome at Easter 501, and officiated at the celebrations of the festival. He, however, joined himself to the partisans of Laurentius, who had been brought secretly back to Rome, and thus rendered the confusion worse than before.

About this time Theodoric visited Rome in person, remaining there six months, his object, according to some writers, being to restore peace to the city by his presence. He was received with great pomp and enthusiasm, and during his stay won popularity by entertaining the people with magnificent sports.

On his departure he ordered 100,000 bushels of corn to be distributed to the poor of Rome.

During his stay in Rome, or shortly after his departure, he ordered a synod of bishops to assemble to examine the charges against Symmachus. Symmachus declined to appear before it until Bishop Peter of Altinum had been ordered to withdraw from Rome. King Theodoric refused to comply with this request, and adjourned the synod for some months.

In September 501 the Pope, guarded by an immense crowd of his partisans, set out for the church of St. Peter, where the bishops had reassembled. His opponents attempted to disperse his guard by force, and fighting took place in the streets, many priests being slain. The Pope, severely wounded, was rescued with difficulty. He refused to appear again before the council, and Theodoric was once more called upon to intervene. The King refused, and referred the dispute to the bishops. A council known as the synod of Palmaris, from a portico of St. Peter's where it met, then assembled, and without a trial acquitted Symmachus, who was now acknowledged as lawful Bishop of Rome. A decree was passed, declaring that no assembly of bishops had power to judge a Pope, he being accountable for his actions to God alone. Peace was not, however, completely restored until three years later.

Pope Symmachus now laboured to restore ecclesiastical discipline, and decrees were passed against simony, and forbidding clerics to engage their votes beforehand for papal elections. It was also decreed that papal elections should rest with the majority of the clergy and not with the sovereign; thus annulling the law promulgated by Odoacer in 483. (*Vide* Felix III.)

As Pope Symmachus refused to honour the memory of Acacius, the Emperor Anastasius used his influence to undermine the authority of the Pope, but at a synod held in Rome in 503 a document drawn up by the deacon Eunodius in defence of Symmachus was read and approved, and afterwards placed among the decrees of the Church. Symmachus restored to the see of Arles all the privileges granted by Leo I (*q.v.*).

To show his gratitude to the saints for their protection, Pope Symmachus undertook the building and beautifying of many churches. By his orders a fountain was placed in the square in front of St. Peter's. He also caused dwellings for the bishops to be built on either side of the great staircase of the entrance hall of St. Peter's, and may thus be regarded as the founder of the Vatican Palace. Three hospitals were also erected by his

orders, and a house for Pilgrims at Portus, as well as many other works in Rome and in the vicinity. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. i, pp. 323-325.)

He is recorded to have maintained suitably to their rank two hundred and twenty African bishops whom Trasamund, the Arian king of the Vandals, had stripped of their possessions and sent into exile. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 263.) Pope Symmachus died in July 514, after a pontificate of fifteen years and eight months. He is said to have been buried in St. Peter's.

LIII. HORMISDAS, A.D. 514-523

Emperors: ANASTASIUS I to 518; JUSTIN I, 518-527
King of Italy: THEODORIC, 493-526

ON 26th July 514, Caelius Hormisdas, or Hormisda, a native of Frusino in Campania, the son of Justus, was elected Bishop of Rome. As a deacon in the Roman Church he had previously distinguished himself as a zealous partisan of Symmachus against the Church of Constantinople. (*Vide* Felix III.) Before taking orders Hormisdas had married, and had one legitimate son who afterwards ascended the pontifical throne as Pope Silverius. The chief event of this pontificate was the healing of the schism which since the time of Felix III had divided the Churches of Rome and Constantinople.

For some time confusion had reigned in the East owing to the religious disputes, and the Emperor Anastasius had been forced to withdraw from Constantinople. A reaction in his favour had afterwards opened the way for his return, but a second rebellion had now broken out led by Vitalianus, a Scythian, Commander-in-Chief of the imperial cavalry, who had taken up arms in defence of orthodoxy and of the exiled bishops. Vitalianus at the head of a powerful army of Huns and Bulgarians advanced to the gates of Constantinople, and Anastasius, having hastily summoned the Senate, authorized the members to make peace on the best terms obtainable.

The terms of peace were: 1. That the persecution of the orthodox should cease, and that the deposed bishops should be restored to their sees. 2. That the Emperor should summon a council to meet at Heraclea to settle the religious disputes, and that the Pope should be invited to attend.

On the accession of Hormisdas the Emperor wrote to him

on the subject of the proposed council, expressing an earnest desire that steps should be taken to heal the schism. The Pope replied with caution, and shortly afterwards dispatched five legates to Constantinople. To these the Pope gave minute instructions concerning their conduct, cautioning them to use much circumspection in their intercourse with the Emperor and the excommunicated clerics. In his letter to the Emperor the Pope demanded that declarations should be signed by Anastasius, and by all the Eastern bishops, announcing their return to orthodoxy, accepting "The Tome of St. Leo" (*vide* Leo I) and anathematizing all the followers of Acacius. (*Vide* Simplicius and Felix III.) On these conditions only would Hormisdas consent to be present at the council. This legation failed, for though the Emperor professed orthodoxy he refused to comply with the other conditions, or to erase the name of Acacius from the diptychs.

In the following year (517) two distinguished imperial ambassadors, Theopompus, a General of the army, and Count Severianus arrived in Rome with a letter to the Pope in which the Emperor again urged the settlement of the dispute by a council. Anastasius also wrote to the Senate, begging the members to intercede with the Pope and with King Theodoric to take steps for a reconciliation between the churches. This embassy was also a failure, as the Pope refused to make terms, except on condition that the heretics were first anathematized.

The Emperor, on receiving an unfavourable reply from the Pope, abandoned all thoughts of a council, but by defending the memory of Acacius soon obtained sufficient popularity to enable him to dismiss Vitalianus from his command. Many in Rome now urged the Pope to make peace, and legates were again sent to Constantinople with letters to the Emperor. But the latter refused to comply with the terms demanded, and the legates were driven from Constantinople with ignominy. The strife now continued with increasing bitterness, and many monks, especially in the province of Syria, were cruelly persecuted on account of their attachment to orthodoxy. On 9th July 518, the Emperor Anastasius died suddenly, and was succeeded by Justin, a rough Dacian peasant, who had been praetorian Prefect. Justin was attached to the orthodox faith, and immediately reversed all the policy of his predecessor with regard to the Church. Edicts were issued recalling the exiled bishops, and declaring heretics to be disqualified from holding civil or military offices. Severus, the

Eutychian Bishop of Antioch, who had been responsible for the persecution of the Syrian monks, was condemned to have his eyes burned out, but he succeeded in escaping to Alexandria.

Pope Hormisdas received with great joy the news of the return to orthodoxy of the Eastern Churches, and in the following year, at his request, the names of Acacius and of his followers, with a few exceptions, were removed from the diptychs.

The reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches was solemnly ratified in the cathedral of Constantinople on Holy Thursday, 18th March 519, in presence of a vast assembly. Thus ended the schism which had lasted for thirty-five years. The conflict, however, continued for some time in Thessalonica and Alexandria, and the Scythian monks renewed disputes with regard to the doctrine of "one person and two natures" in Christ. A deputation from these monks visited Rome, but they were coldly received and obliged to seek safety in flight.

Pope Hormisdas died in 523 and was buried in St. Peter's. He was a prelate of strong personality and determined character, full of zeal for the orthodox faith.

During this pontificate many valuable gifts were presented to the Roman Church by the Emperor Justin and others. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, pp. 269-274.)

LIV. JOHN I, A.D. 523-526

Emperor: JUSTIN I, 518-527
King of Italy: THEODORIC, 493-526

ON 13th August 523, seven days after the death of Hormisdas, John I, surnamed Cataline, was elected Bishop of Rome. He was a native of Tuscany, the son of Constantius, and had been a presbyter in the Roman Church. His reign was short, and ended disastrously through no fault of his own.

The Emperor Justin, not satisfied with having healed the schism (*vide* Hormisdas), now turned his attention to the extirpation of heresy throughout his dominions. His first edict was issued against the Manicheans (*vide supra*, p. 51), who were ordered immediately to leave the empire on pain of death. As their sect was generally disliked, this edict was carried into force without much difficulty. This, however, was only the beginning of the persecution of the heretics.

In 524 Justin issued an edict against the Arians, who under the protection of King Theodoric had become very numerous and powerful. As the Arians were faithful subjects, and had served their prince with fidelity, this was an unwise measure, which roused indignation on all sides. Theodoric, himself an Arian, was a strong advocate of religious toleration, and had extended his protection even to the Jews. He wrote remonstrating with Justin, but the Emperor refused to be moved from his purpose, and replied that while he pretended to no authority over men's consciences he had full authority to open the churches only to those who conformed to the religion of the state. Large numbers of Arians, to save themselves from persecution or from loss of property, embraced the orthodox religion.

Theodoric then summoned the Pope to Ravenna and charged him to proceed to Constantinople without delay. John was to inform the Emperor that unless the edict was withdrawn an order would be issued by Theodoric for the persecution of the orthodox throughout Italy. It is generally understood that Pope John only consented to undertake this mission in the interests of the orthodox who were now threatened with persecution, and not in the interests of the Arians.

The Pope, accompanied by five bishops and four senators, was received in Constantinople with marks of the highest honour, the town's people coming out twelve miles to meet him with torches and crosses. Some writers declare that on his entry into Constantinople he restored sight miraculously to a blind man. Assisted by the patriarch of Constantinople, he celebrated Easter with great pomp and solemnity, the patriarch yielding precedence to the Pope.

Justin, at the Pope's request, agreed to revoke the edict, and to grant the Arians all the privileges which they had previously enjoyed. John then returned to Ravenna, but instead of meeting with the cordial reception from Theodoric that might have been expected from the success of his mission, he was thrown into prison. Historians do not make clear the reason for Theodoric's action. It is generally supposed that the Pope had, as would be natural, refused to enforce the demand that those Arians who had embraced orthodoxy should be allowed to recant.

In May of the following year (526) Pope John I died in prison, after a pontificate of two years and nine months. His body was brought from Ravenna to Rome, and was buried in

St. Peter's, where he is still honoured as a martyr. The "Liber Pontificalis" records that John I restored certain of the Roman cemeteries.

LV. FELIX IV, A.D. 526-530

Emperors: (E.) JUSTIN to 527; JUSTINIAN, 527-565
Kings of Italy: THEODORIC to 526; ATHALARIC, 526-534

THE death of Pope John I was followed by bitter contentions in the Roman Church, the different factions refusing to agree in the choice of a successor. King Theodoric, fearing the disasters likely to result from another papal schism, decided to interfere, and induced the clergy to elect, as Bishop of Rome, Felix, a Samnite, the son of Castorius. The new Pope, a prelate of considerable learning and of blameless life, was in every way worthy of the high honour conferred on him. The Roman Church consented to recognize the nominee of King Theodoric, but an agreement was made by which future popes were to be chosen by the free votes of clergy and people, although they might not assume their office until confirmed in it by the sovereign. This agreement continued in force until the appointment was given to the College of Cardinals instituted in 1059. (*Vide* Nicolas II.)

The election of Pope Felix was one of the last acts of the now aged King Theodoric, who died on 30th August 526. Some writers declare that he died in an agony of remorse for his treatment of John I (*q.v.*), and of others whose death he had caused. He was succeeded by his grandson, Athalaric, during whose minority the kingdom was ruled by his mother, Amalasuntha. This princess favoured the Catholics, and is said to have made a gift to the Pope of certain ancient edifices in the Roman Forum. Some writers suppose that it was these buildings which were consecrated by Felix, and converted into the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, which still exists. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. i, p. 343.)

The Roman clergy complained to their new sovereign that the Goths had ignored their ecclesiastical rights by dragging them before lay tribunals. Athalaric accordingly issued an edict requiring civil suits to be tried before the bishops and not before secular judges. This privilege was then only given to the Roman clergy, but was afterwards extended to all prelates by

the Emperor Justinian. In 527 the Emperor Justin died, and was succeeded by his nephew Justinian.

A heresy known as the semi-Pelagian, respecting the nature and efficacy of grace, arose in Gaul at this time. Felix IV compiled a series of Capitula from Scripture and the Fathers, bearing on the subject of this heresy, and sent copies to the bishops of Gaul. Felix IV died in 530, his peaceful and almost uneventful pontificate having lasted four years. He was buried in St. Peter's.

LVI. BONIFACE II, A.D. 530-532

(DIOSCORUS, ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: JUSTINIAN, 527-565
King of Italy: ATHALARIC, 526-534

AFTER the death of Felix IV the church in Rome was again divided into factions. Just before his death Pope Felix had named as his successor the aged Archdeacon Boniface, who was the son of a Goth named Sigisvultus, and who had served the Roman Church from early youth. Part of the clergy consented to this appointment, but the Senate refused to sanction it, and a schism resulted.

On 22nd September 530 Boniface was elected by the clerical party, supported by the Goths, and on the same day the Greek Dioscorus, a highly respected prelate, was chosen by the opposite faction. A few days later, however, the schism in which the Roman Church had thus become involved was ended by the sudden death of Dioscorus. The first act of Boniface II was to convene a Roman Synod, at which he compelled all the clergy present to sign a decree anathematizing the late antipope. This sentence was, however, annulled by a later pope (*vide* Agapetus I), for although all the clergy then submitted to Boniface, a certain number of them never formally acknowledged the validity of his election.

In 531 Boniface convened a second synod in St. Peter's, when he declared that in future it should be part of the constitution of the Church that a pope should have the right to nominate his successor. He then proceeded to nominate the deacon Vigilius. Although the clergy present at this synod acquiesced at the time, the decree soon produced bitter resentment on all sides. Both the Gothic and imperial parties

objected to a policy which would place the Papacy, like private property, at the disposition of its possessor.

At a third synod Boniface acknowledged his decree to be an act of treason, and it was publicly burned, the nomination of Vigilius being at the same time cancelled. During his short pontificate Boniface II took an active interest in the affairs of distant Churches, both in East and West. He confirmed the decrees of the second council of Orange, which had put an end to the semi-Pelagian controversy. (*Vide* Felix IV.) At a fourth Roman synod, held in December 531, documentary evidence, said to be culled from no less than twenty-five different sources, was adduced to support the claim of Rome to jurisdiction over the churches of Illyricum.

The African bishops appealed to Pope Boniface at this time to support them in their efforts to restore order in their churches after the Vandal devastations. Boniface II was much esteemed for his mild and conciliatory policy, and for his charity to the poor of Rome during a famine. He died in October 532, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LVII. JOHN II, A.D. 533-535

Emperor: JUSTINIAN, 527-565; Kings of Italy: ATHALARIC to 534; THEODAHADUS (THEODATUS), 534-536

FOR nearly three months after the death of Boniface II the Roman see remained vacant, and it was not until 2nd January 533 that John, surnamed Mercurius, the son of Projectus, was duly installed. He had been a priest of St. Clement's in the Mons Coelius, in which church a monument to him still exists. (*Vide* Duchesne in "Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 285, *notes*.)

The prevalence of simony in the Roman Church, and even of the sale of the sacred vessels, necessitated the interference of King Athalaric at this time. He confirmed an edict passed in a previous pontificate, forbidding simony and the sale of the papal office. To this he further added a decree of his own, declaring that when in future a disputed election was brought before the court at Ravenna, the Roman clergy and people must pay a fine of three thousand soldi. This decree, engraven on marble, was placed in the porch of St. Peter's. John II succeeded in keeping on good terms with King Athalaric, who

permitted the Pope to bring before his own tribunals all cases against the Roman clergy. Disturbances due chiefly to the Scythian monks had for some time been taking place in the Eastern Churches with reference to the article: "One of the Trinity has been crucified for us." This formula had been introduced for the purpose of reconciling certain heretical sects. Pope John II received two important embassies from Justinian on the subject, the Emperor in his letters declaring that the formula was orthodox. With his ambassadors Justinian also sent his confession of faith and many valuable gifts to the Pope. John having assembled the Roman clergy, declared his agreement with the Emperor in regard to the formula. In his letter replying to Justinian he states that while the Son of God is consubstantial with the Father in respect to His divinity, He is consubstantial with us in respect to His humanity; passible in the flesh, but impassible in the Godhead.

Contumeliosus, Bishop of Riez in Provence, having been convicted of incontinence, the Pope ordered the Bishops of Gaul to confine him in a monastery, and to submit themselves to the Bishop of Arles during the vacancy in the see of Riez. John II died in May 535, and was buried in St. Peter's.

A Latin inscription relating to this Pope exists in the Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli, in Rome. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 285, *note*; Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. i, p. 353, *note*.)

LVIII. AGAPETUS I, A.D. 535-536

Emperor: JUSTINIAN, 527-565
King of Italy: THEODATUS, 534-536

AGAPETUS, son of Gordianus, a priest, a native of Rome, and archdeacon of the Roman Church, was elected Pope on 3rd June 365, six days after the death of his predecessor. He was a very aged man at the time of his election, which took place without disturbance owing probably to the edict of King Athalaric (*vide* John II). Some writers declare that he was the nominee of Theodatus, the new King of Italy, and was therefore not freely elected.

One of the first acts of Agapetus was to annul the sentence of anathema which had been passed by Pope Boniface II against the antipope Dioscorus, and which all the clergy had

been forced to sign. (*Vide* Boniface II.) Agapetus caused the decree to be burned publicly in the church, in the presence of the assembled congregation.

Theodatus, nephew of King Theodoric, had succeeded to the Gothic throne of Italy on the premature death of Athalaric in 534, and shortly after his accession had caused Amalasuntha, mother of the late King, to be strangled in her bath. To avenge the death of this princess the Emperor Justinian despatched an army to Italy, under the leadership of the general Belisarius. Theodatus, alarmed by the success of the imperial general in Sicily and Italy, determined to send the Pope as an ambassador to Constantinople, in order to make such terms with the Emperor as might save the Gothic kingdom in Italy.

In spite of his advanced age Agapetus set out for Constantinople. So great was the poverty of the Roman see at this time, that he was obliged to pawn to the King's treasurer the sacred vessels of the Church, in order to raise money for the expenses of his journey. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. i, p. 367.)

On 19th February 536, the Pope entered Constantinople, where he was received with the highest honours. Some records give an account of miracles wrought by him on his entry into the city. There is no evidence to show that his mission was successful, for Belisarius took Rome within the same year. Agapetus, while in Constantinople, refused to communicate with Anthimus, the Eutychian prelate, not only on account of his heresy, but because his translation from one see to another was contrary to the canons.

Justinian ordered the Pope to communicate with Anthimus, and threatened to drive him into exile if he continued to refuse. Agapetus, however, remained firm. "I came hither in my old age to see, as I supposed, a religious and Christian Emperor," he is recorded to have said. "I find a new Diocletian. But I fear not his menaces." (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 287.) The Pope's courage triumphed, and Anthimus, after examination, was expelled from the see of Constantinople and sent into exile. In his room was chosen Mennas, a prelate distinguished for his zeal for the orthodox faith. During his stay in Constantinople two petitions were presented to Agapetus, one from the clergy and monks of Jerusalem, and the other from the monks of Constantinople. Both these petitions begged the Pope to inform the Emperor

of the harm wrought at this time in many of the Eastern Churches by the followers of Eutyches. (*Vide* Leo I.)

Pope Agapetus was confined to bed through illness when these petitions reached him, but after perusing them he sent them to the Emperor. His illness increased, and he died in April 536, after a pontificate of eleven months. So great was the pomp accompanying his obsequies that no such sight had ever before been witnessed in Constantinople. His remains, enclosed in a leaden coffin, were afterwards conveyed to Rome, and buried in St. Peter's. He is honoured as a saint both by the Greek and Latin Churches. Five authentic letters of this Pope are extant. One of these is addressed to Caesarius of Arles, in reply to an appeal from that prelate on behalf of the poor in Gaul. Agapetus explains that his refusal to send relief is not due to avarice, but to the poverty of the Roman Church at that time. He also states that the decrees forbidding alienations of Church property are so strict that he cannot disobey them. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 114.)

LIX. SYLVERIUS, A.D. 536-537

Emperor: JUSTINIAN, 527-565
Kings of Italy: THEODATUS to 536; VITIGES, 537-540

WHEN news of the death of Pope Agapetus reached Rome, King Theodatus ordered that steps should be immediately taken for a new election. Sylverius, on whom the choice fell, was a sub-deacon of the Roman Church, and the son of Pope Hormisdas (*q.v.*). He is said to have obtained the Papal chair, as the nominee of King Theodatus, by bribery. Those who resisted his election were punished with death. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 290.)

Meantime Belisarius, the imperial general, continued his conquests (*vide* Agapetus I), and now threatened Rome. The Goths, imputing to the weakness of Theodatus, who was a better scholar than a warrior, the success of the imperial army, rose in rebellion against him, and, having deposed him, raised to the throne Vitiges, a brave and experienced general. Theodatus fled, but was overtaken and slain. Vitiges then retired to Ravenna with his army, leaving 4,000 chosen troops in Rome to defend the city. Before his departure he is said to have exhorted the Pope and the Senate of Rome to remain faithful to the Goths. The Senate, however, decided to open the gates

to the imperial army in the hope that the restoration of the Roman Empire would bring about a new era of freedom and prosperity, and failing to reflect that Italy would thus become a province of Constantinople.

On 10th December 536 Belisarius entered Rome with his army, and the city, which for sixty years had been held by the Goths, was again united to the Roman Empire. In March of the following year (537) Vitiges began his long and unsuccessful siege of Rome. Meantime the consequence to the Roman Church of these changes soon became apparent. The Empress Theodora, who still supported the cause of Anthimus (*vide* Agapetus), wrote to Pope Sylverius, requesting him either to recognize Anthimus as lawful bishop, or to proceed to Constantinople to re-examine the charges against him. The Pope, while fully recognizing the danger he incurred from the violent and unscrupulous Empress, refused to comply with her commands.

Vigilius, the deacon, who had been nominated to the Papacy by Pope Boniface II (*q.v.*), was still in Constantinople, having been one of those who had accompanied Pope Agapetus on his embassy to the imperial court. Theodora knowing him to be an able man, and of boundless ambition, now summoned him to her presence, and offered to raise him to the Papal throne which the conquests of Belisarius had placed at her disposal, provided he would, after his elevation, condemn the council of Chalcedon (*vide* Leo I), and receive Anthimus, with the other Eutychians, into his communion. To this Vigilius is said to have agreed, and forthwith set out for Rome. He, however, found that Belisarius, who was a prudent and upright general, was extremely unwilling to depose the lawful Pope at the command of the Empress. Unfortunately the general was very much under the influence of his wife, Antonina, who was the confidante and tool of the Empress in all her intrigues. Witnesses were brought forward who accused Pope Sylverius of having written letters, in which he offered to surrender Rome to Vitiges. Some accounts state that not only did Belisarius know this accusation to be false, but he even discovered the names of the persons who had forged the letter. After vainly attempting to persuade Sylverius to submit to the Empress, Belisarius summoned him to the Palace which he then occupied on the Pincian Hill. There Sylverius is said to have had three interviews with Belisarius. After the first two he was allowed to depart. On the third occasion on which he was summoned

his attendant clergy were ordered to wait in an outer room, while he was conducted to the apartment of Antonina. It was said that from the moment of his entering that apartment his friends never again saw Pope Sylverius. According to the "Liber Pontificalis," on entering the presence of Antonina he found her in bed, with her husband, Belisarius, sitting at her feet. She addressed the Pope angrily: "What have we done to you and to the Romans, Pope Sylverius, that you should betray us to the Goths?" Without being given an opportunity to reply, the pallium was immediately rent from his shoulders, he was despoiled of his pontifical garments, and clad in the habit of a monk. He was then banished to Patara in Syria.

The Bishop of Patara undertook the defence of Pope Sylverius, and, according to some accounts, persuaded Justinian, who had previously known nothing of the Pope's deposition to order an inquiry into it. Sylverius was allowed to return to Rome for trial, but on his arrival was delivered over to Vigilius. The latter immediately caused him to be again banished, this time to an island in the Tyrrhene Sea, where he perished in the following year, probably by a violent death. He was buried in the island where he died, and sick persons were afterwards said to be healed by resorting to his tomb. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, pp. 290-293.) For his sufferings for the faith the Roman Church honours him as a martyr on 20th June.

LX. VIGILIUS, A.D. 537-555

Emperor: JUSTINIAN I, 527-565
Gothic King of Italy: TOTILA, 541-552

VIGILIUS, a Roman, whose father John had been Consul, was elected Bishop of Rome on 22nd November 537. Under Boniface II (*q.v.*) Vigilius, then a deacon, had been nominated to the papal chair, but the nomination had afterwards been annulled. Having accompanied Agapetus (*q.v.*) to Constantinople, he was chosen antipope in opposition to Sylverius (*q.v.*) through the intrigues of the Empress Theodora.

Accounts differ as to how he afterwards came to be recognized as the lawful Pope. The statement made by some writers that in fulfilment of a promise to the Empress he wrote letters, after his accession, admitting to communion the Eutychian bishops of Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch, and condemning

the Council of Chalcedon and "The Tome of St. Leo," is of doubtful authenticity. In any case, letters are extant written by him shortly afterwards to the Emperor Justinian, in which he condemns the Eutychian bishops, and fully accepts the Council of Chalcedon and "The Tome of St. Leo." (*Vide* Leo I.)

Fresh disputes now began to disturb the Church in Constantinople. A controversy concerning the doctrines of Origen, which had been the subject of dispute in the fourth and fifth centuries, was revived by some eastern monks. The Emperor Justinian was persuaded to issue an edict condemning the doctrines of Origen; but certain bishops who are said to have been inclined to favour these doctrines immediately proceeded to divert the Emperor's zeal to another channel. They urged on him the necessity of issuing an edict to condemn certain writings of Theodorus of Mopsuestra, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Odessa. These writings, known as "The Three Chapters," although said to be infected with Nestorianism, had been passed as orthodox by the Council of Chalcedon. The Emperor issued an edict condemning these writings, but Pope Vigilius, after due deliberation, refused to sign the edict. For this refusal he was summoned to appear before the Emperor in Constantinople. The "Liber Pontificalis" declares that the Empress Theodora was secretly responsible for raising this controversy, and that she caused the Pope to be accused of certain crimes. A crowd of Romans are said to have accompanied him to the vessel in which he was to sail and to have thrown volleys of stones at their departing bishop, crying "Famine and death go with you!" (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 297.)

Mindful of the troubles of his flock, for at the time of his departure Rome was besieged by the Gothic King Totila, Vigilius landed in Sicily, from whence he despatched to Rome several vessels laden with corn. These vessels fell into the enemy's hands, and Bishop Valentinus of Silva Candida in Tuscany, who had accompanied them, was sentenced to have both his hands cut off. On his arrival in Constantinople Vigilius at first steadfastly refused to communicate with the heretical prelates, but is said to have been won over at the end of four months by the flattery of Justinian and Theodora.

After prolonged disputes Vigilius issued, on Easter Eve 548, a document known as the "Judicatum," in which he condemned "The Three Chapters," but maintained that this

implied no disparagement to the Council of Chalcedon. On the publication of this document the bishops of Illyricum and North Africa, as well as many others, declared that they separated themselves from communion with Vigilius. The Pope, finding himself deserted, is said to have now contemplated the advisability of withdrawing the "Judicatum." Shortly after this the Empress Theodora died, but Justinian remained determined to denounce "The Three Chapters," and issued another edict to that effect, which he caused to be posted outside the churches.

Vigilius then assembled a meeting of the orthodox in the palace of Placidia, and a sentence of excommunication was drawn up against all those prelates who had condemned "The Three Chapters." The Pope was immediately afterwards forced to flee for his life, and took refuge, along with Datius of Milan, who had been his staunch supporter throughout the disputes, in the church of St. Peter in Ormisda. The Emperor sent troops to seize him, and he fled to the altar of St. Sergius. A violent struggle ensued, and the Pope, being a powerful man of gigantic height, the columns gave way and the altar was thrown down. The Pope was, however, rescued by a mob which had assembled without, and returned to the palace of Placidia. After some time he escaped from thence, and took boat for Chalcedon. There he took refuge in the church of St. Euphemia, which was held to be an inviolable sanctuary, and in which he remained for over a year. On receiving a promise from the Emperor that no further measures would be taken against him until the meeting of a Council, Pope Vigilius consented to return to Constantinople.

On 5th May 553 the Fifth Œcumenical Council of the Church assembled in Constantinople. The Pope is said to have refused to preside owing to the great preponderance of Eastern bishops, and the council met under the presidency of Eutychius, patriarch of Constantinople. Meantime, however, Vigilius assembled his own supporters in the palace of Placidia, and drew up a lengthy document known as the "Constitutum ad Imperatorem," in which he declared "The Three Chapters" to be orthodox. The bishops assembled at the council were unanimous in condemning "The Three Chapters," and the "Judicatum," previously prepared by Pope Vigilius, was brought forward to support their decision. As the Pope refused to submit to the decrees of this council, he was banished to the island of Proconnesus. Copies of two letters, said to be written

by him while on this island, are extant addressed to Eutychius and the Emperor, in which he declares that at length, being enlightened, he earnestly condemns "The Three Chapters." Both letters have been shown, however, to be of doubtful authenticity.

Accounts differ as to the means by which Pope Vigilius obtained permission to return to Rome. The city having been meanwhile recaptured by the imperial eunuch Narses, some writers state that Justinian yielded to the entreaties of the Roman clergy, who, through Narses, now begged that their bishop might be restored to them.

After an absence of seven years, Vigilius, with the presbyters who had accompanied him, at length set out for Rome. But at Syracuse he was seized with an attack of the stone, a malady to which he had long been subject, and there died, probably in June 555. His body was conveyed to Rome, where it was buried in the Church of St. Marcellus in the Salarian Way. (*Cf.* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, pp. 296-299; art. on Pope Vigilius by Rev. G. T. Stokes, D.D., in "Dict. of Christ. Biog.," 1887.)

LXI. PELAGIUS I, A.D. 555-565

Emperor: JUSTINIAN I, 527-565

PELAGIUS I, who succeeded Vigilius as Bishop of Rome, was by birth a Roman, the son of one John, formerly lieutenant-vicar to the Pretorian Prefect. He had been Archdeacon of the Roman Church, and during the pontificate of Pope Agapetus papal nuncio at Constantinople. While there he became the tool of the Empress Theodora, in her intrigues to further the election of Vigilius (*q.v.*).

During the absence of Pope Vigilius the Archdeacon Pelagius became the most important ecclesiastic in Rome. Having amassed considerable wealth while in Constantinople, he distributed it liberally in relieving the wants of the starving people, during the siege of Rome by Totila, the Gothic King of Italy. Before the surrender of the city to Totila, Pelagius was sent as leader of an embassy to the King asking for a truce of three days. This was refused, and in December 546 Totila entered Rome with his army.

On the morning after his victory the King visited the tomb of St. Peter, and was there met by the Archdeacon Pelagius,

who begged him to have mercy on his new subjects. "You now condescend to be a supplicant," said Totila scornfully. "I am a supplicant," replied the Archdeacon. "God has made us your subjects, and as such we are entitled to your clemency." It is recorded that at the entreaty of Pelagius Totila consented to spare the inhabitants of Rome. (*Vide* Gibbon's "Rome," chap. xliii.)

Pelagius was afterwards sent on an embassy from Totila to the Emperor at Constantinople to arrange terms of peace, but this embassy failed in its object. He then joined Vigilius in Constantinople, and supported that Pope through all his changes of policy. (*Vide* Vigilius.)

In 554 Pelagius was allowed to return with Vigilius to Italy, having been nominated by Justinian before his departure as the Pope's successor. He was afterwards suspected of having been concerned in causing the death of Pope Vigilius at Syracuse, and on his arrival in Rome, so strong was the feeling against him, that no bishop could be persuaded to consecrate him. At length, bishops John of Perusium, and Bonus of Ferrentum, assisted by Andrea, a presbyter of Ostia, were induced to perform the ceremony. Although he was strongly supported by the imperial general Narses, who was now master of Rome, the Roman clergy and people refused to acknowledge him as Pope.

Pelagius and Narses organized a procession, which they ordered to proceed from the church of St. Pancras to that of St. Peter. There the Pope, bearing in one hand a cross and in the other the Gospel, mounted a pulpit and solemnly declared himself innocent of any share in the death of his predecessor. At the same time he denounced all those who had obtained any ecclesiastical office by simony, and called on the people to assent with him to this decree. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 303.)

Although the Roman clergy and people then acknowledged him as their bishop, a large majority of the Western churches still refused to do so, including the bishops of Tuscany, Istria, Illyricum, North Africa, Gaul, and Spain, who were dissatisfied with his condemnation of "The Three Chapters." (*Vide* Vigilius.)

Numerous epistles are extant, written by Pelagius to the schismatic bishops, in which he vainly exhorted them to make their peace with the Apostolic see. He also addressed an encyclical letter to all orthodox bishops, declaring his faith to

be one with theirs. As this still failed to satisfy them, the Pope called on Narses to use his authority in bringing them to submission, and urged him to depose and send as a prisoner to Constantinople Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia, whom he declared to have been unlawfully ordained. There is no evidence, however, that Narses complied with these requests, for the imperial general was opposed to enforcing orthodoxy by harsh measures.

Childebert, King of the Franks, who seems to have suspected Pelagius of heresy, sent in 556 an ambassador, Rufinus, to Rome to inquire if by accepting the Fifth Council the Pope rejected the Council of Chalcedon. The Pope replied by sending to Childebert a full confession of his orthodox faith, and an assurance that he was ready to defend the Council of Chalcedon at the expense of his life. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 126.)

Several fragments of other letters written by this Pope are extant. Pope Pelagius laid the foundation of a church said to be dedicated to SS. Philip and James, which, completed by his successor, was afterwards called the Church of the Twelve Apostles. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 306, *note.*) He died on 3rd March 560, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXII. JOHN III, A.D. 560-573

Emperors: JUSTINIAN I TO 565; JUSTIN II, 565-578

JOHN III, surnamed Catellinus, son of a man of high rank named Anastasius, was chosen to succeed Pelagius I as Bishop of Rome. His consecration was delayed for four months—until 14th July 560—owing to the necessity of waiting until his nomination had been confirmed by the Emperor at Constantinople. Very little is known concerning the acts of this pope.

Two bishops of Gaul, deposed for serious crimes by a Council assembled at Lyons, under the Frankish King Gunthram, appealed to Pope John III, and by his authority were re-established in their sees. They afterwards continued their career of crime, and were eventually condemned, without appeal, to imprisonment for life in a monastery.

In 565 the Emperor Justinian died at the age of eighty-

three, and was succeeded by his sister's son, Justin II, the younger. The Romans, jealous of the wealth of Narses, who now ruled Italy as exarch or imperial representative, accused him to the new Emperor and Empress, Justin and Sophia, declaring that the yoke of the barbarian Gauls was lighter than the Roman tyranny. Narses was recalled from Rome, and retired to Naples, from whence, according to some accounts, out of revenge for his degradation, he sent an invitation to the Lombards to come and invade Italy. Some historians, however, think it more probable that the Lombards, hearing of the recall of Narses, and knowing him to be the only general capable of resisting them, seized the opportunity to invade Italy. Pope John III followed Narses to Naples, and succeeded in persuading the brave and much-injured general to return to Rome, where he remained in retirement until his death in 572.

Owing, it would appear, to the opposition shown by the court party to the Pope, John III retired to the Cemetery of SS. Tiburtian and Valerian in the catacomb of Praetextus, where he lived for several months, and even held ordinations there. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 306.) After the death of Narses the Pope returned to the Lateran Palace. His sojourn in the catacombs probably led him to take a special interest in the Cemetery of the Martyrs, which he afterwards caused to be enlarged and rebuilt. He also ordered that the necessary bread, wine, and lights, for the celebration of masses, should be sent to the chapel of the Cemetery each week from the church of the Lateran. (*Vide ibid.*, p. 305.)

Pope John III died in July 573, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXIII. BENEDICT I, A.D. 574-578

Emperor: JUSTIN II, 565-578

THE death of Pope John III was followed by a vacancy of nearly eleven months in the Roman see, the ravages of the Lombards making communication with Constantinople so difficult that the imperial confirmation of the new election did not arrive until June 574.

Benedict I, the chosen pontiff, was by birth a Roman, the son of Boniface, and was called by the Greeks Bonosus.

Although the Lombards did not actually take the city of Rome, they continued during the whole of this pontificate to ravage the suburbs, violate the cemeteries, and persecute the churches. Misery and famine followed their devastations, during which the city of Rome is said to have been relieved by a corn fleet, sent at the entreaty of the Pope by the Emperor Justin.

According to one account Pope Benedict died stricken with grief on account of his inability to relieve the misery that prevailed in and around Rome. He was buried on 31st July 578, in the vestibule of the sacristy of the old church of St. Peter. This Pope is said to have restored to Stephen, abbot of St. Mark's, an estate known as the Massa Veneris in the territory of Minturnae. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 137.)

LXIV. PELAGIUS II, A.D. 578-590

Emperors: TIBERIUS II, 578-582; MAURICE, 582-602

PELAGIUS II, a native of Rome, son of Winigild, a Goth, was chosen to succeed Benedict I as Bishop of Rome.

The city being at this time invested by the Lombards, his election and consecration took place without the Emperor's sanction; but as soon as communication with Constantinople had been resumed he wrote requesting Tiberius to confirm his election.

The Lombards had by this time overrun a great part of Italy, and settled in the fertile valley of the Po, which still retains from them the name of Lombardy. The Emperor Maurice, who succeeded Tiberius II in 582, invited the help of the Franks against the Lombards, promising to the Frankish King Childebert II a large sum of money on condition that he would drive the invaders from Italy. Two Frankish invasions took place during this pontificate, but were successfully resisted by the Lombards. Some writers infer that Maurice was advised by the Pope to ask help from the Lombards, for in a letter written in 580 by Pelagius II to Aunarius, Bishop of Arles, we find him urging that prelate to influence the Frankish kings against the Lombards. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 138.)

A letter also exists, written by Pelagius in 584 to Gregory the deacon, who was for some years his representative at Con-

stantinople, and afterwards his famous successor, entreating him to obtain help from the Emperor, Rome being at that time in imminent danger from the invaders.

Paulinus, Bishop of Aquileia (*vide* Pelagius I), being driven from his see by the Lombards took refuge with his treasures at Grado, which from this translation was afterwards called New Aquileia. His successor, Elias, is said to have held a synod at Grado for the purpose of confirming the transference of the see. The bishops present at this synod are stated to have repudiated the Fifth Council and the condemnation of "The Three Chapters." (*Vide* Vigilius.) Some writers hold the Acts of the Synod of Grado, which are extant, to be entirely spurious. It is certain, however, that the bishops of Northern Italy continued to accept "The Three Chapters," for three genuine letters exist, written by Pelagius II, in which he exhorts the Istrian bishops to return to their allegiance to the Apostolic see. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 138.) His persuasive efforts proving unavailing, Pelagius called on Smaragdus, the exarch of Italy, to punish the rebellious prelates. Severus, the successor of Elias in the see of Grado, is said to have been conveyed, along with three other bishops, to Ravenna, by order of Smaragdus, and there forced to communicate with the orthodox bishops.

About the year 588, an important council was held in Constantinople, under the presidency of John the Faster, patriarch of that see, to consider the case of Gregory of Antioch, who had been charged with serious crimes. At this council John roused the indignation of the Roman see by assuming the title of "Universal Patriarch." Pelagius wrote a letter to his representative at Constantinople, in which he declared his belief that John the Faster had assembled the council for the special purpose of assuming this title. He further declared null and void all the proceedings of the council except the absolution of the Bishop of Antioch.

In November 589, a serious inundation of the Tiber took place, the river rising to such a height that many ancient buildings were swept away, and the corn granaries destroyed. This calamity was followed by a pestilence of which the Pope was one of the first victims. He died in January 590, and was buried in St. Peter's on 6th February.

Pelagius caused a new church to be erected over the tomb of St. Laurence, and re-decorated the cemetery of St. Hermas. He also caused the shrine of St. Peter to be covered with

silver-gilt plates. He was beloved for his charity to the poor, of whom there were great numbers in Rome at this time, many of the wealthy having been reduced to beggary through the pillages of the Lombards. Pope Pelagius is recorded to have converted his own house into a dwelling for old men. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 309; Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 27.)

LXV. GREGORY I (THE GREAT), A.D. 590-604

Emperors: MAURICE, 582-602; PHOCAS, 602-610

ONE of the greatest figures in ecclesiastical history is that of the prelate who was now chosen to ascend the pontifical throne as the successor of Pelagius II. So great was the part played by him in a time of crisis and emergency, so important the position he assumed, that posterity has justly awarded to him the title of Father of the Medieval Papacy,—that institution apart from which it is impossible to conceive the condition of Europe in the Middle Ages as other than a state of lawlessness, confusion, and hopeless chaos. (*Cf.* Milman, "Hist. of Latin Christianity," vol. ii, p. 100 and ff.)

Gregory I, called by his own age and by posterity the Great, came of an ancient senatorial family, renowned for its piety. His father, Gordianus, a wealthy patrician, belonging most probably to the famous gens Anicia, owned vast estates in Sicily and a palace on the Caelian Hill in Rome. His mother, Silvia, was also of noble family. Having received an education befitting his rank, Gregory from the time of his attaining early manhood took an active part in public affairs, became a member of the Senate, and rose to be Praefectus or Praetor of Rome (573). At about the age of thirty-five, having come, according to some writers, under the influence of the Abbot of Monte Cassino, a Benedictine, Gregory renounced all worldly ambitions and became a monk.

He now transformed into a monastery, dedicated to St. Andrew, his ancestral palace on the Caelian Hill, and distributed the wealth he inherited from his father to the poor in Rome. His Sicilian estates were also given up by him to found six monasteries. In the monastery of St. Andrew Gregory lived for some years the life of a simple monk, and was afterwards chosen

abbot. So severe was the discipline he imposed on himself, as well as on others, that he became seriously ill, and his life is said to have been preserved only by a miracle, granted in answer to the prayers of his faithful monks.

The poetry of the time has clothed with the halo of the miraculous his charity and unprecedented abstinence, and his early biographies abound in legends of the miracles wrought by him. Gregory was himself a devout believer in miracles, and in the veneration of relics. He ordered bones of saints to be deposited in all the newly-founded churches, and sent to his royal converts presents of keys, into which had been worked filings from what were supposed to be St. Peter's chains. Through these filings miraculous powers of healing are said to have been conveyed to the faithful.

In 578 Gregory was made one of the seven deacons of Rome, and shortly afterwards was sent by Pope Pelagius II (*q.v.*), to the imperial court at Constantinople to entreat aid from the Emperor against the Lombards. This embassy was only partially successful, but Gregory remained for the next six years as papal representative at the imperial court. While there he wrote the greater part of his famous work, entitled "Magna Moralia," an exposition of the Book of Job. In 585, he was recalled to Rome, and returned as abbot to his beloved monastery of St. Andrew.

To this period of his life is supposed to belong the episode of his noticing some young English slaves in the Roman Forum. Struck by their fair skins and golden hair, he inquired from whence they came, and was told by the slave-dealer that they were Angles. "Not Angles but Angels, surely!" said Gregory, and forthwith there arose in his heart an earnest desire to carry the message of the angels to distant England. Having obtained permission from the Pope, Gregory set out on his journey to Britain. But so great was the devotion of the Roman people to the noble monk that they rose in revolt, and forced the Pope to send hasty messengers after him to bring him back.

On the death of Pope Pelagius II, who fell a victim to the pestilence then raging (590), the clergy, senate, and people of Rome called on Gregory with one voice to ascend the papal throne. He was most reluctant to accept the office, modestly declaring himself unfit for the high honour. He even wrote a letter to the Emperor Maurice at Constantinople, begging that the imperial confirmation of his election might be withheld.

But this letter was intercepted by his friends, and never reached its destination. It is now generally believed that the story of his flight from Rome to seek concealment in a solitary forest, where a light hovering over his head betrayed his refuge, is without foundation.

But once consecrated, Gregory threw himself into the work of his office with an energy and zeal so amazing as to make him the wonder of his contemporaries. The vast amount of business he transacted is shown by the number of his letters, of which about eight hundred and fifty, collected in fourteen books, still exist.

It was his earnest desire to administer, as a faithful steward of God and of St. Peter, the estates of the Church which were now very extensive, and, including lands in Campania, Sardinia, Corsica, Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Africa, covered an area of not less than 1,600 square miles. In his numerous letters addressed to the administrators of the papal estates in these territories, he gives minute and careful directions for their management, while showing an earnest concern that the peasants dwelling on these lands should not be oppressed by the papal agents. The revenues were devoted by Gregory to the relief of the poor and suffering in Rome, and throughout Italy. On the first day of every month supplies of provisions were distributed by him to the poor in Rome, among whom were many descendants of the ancient nobility, who had been reduced to poverty through the Lombard depredations. From his own table a portion was sent each day to the hungry at his gates, the sick were cared for in their own houses, and persons appointed to inspect every street.

Gregory caused the Church services to be conducted according to an improved form, preached frequently to the people, and frequently officiated himself at mass. For his connection with the plain chant of the Church, which still bears his name, the earliest authority is his biographer, John the Deacon, who, at the request of Pope John VIII (872-882) wrote his "Vita Gregorii," in answer to the complaint that no history of the saint had yet been produced in Rome. (*Vide* article by H. Bewerunge on "The Gregorian Chant" in Cath. Encyc. vol. vi.) Earlier authorities for the life of this great pope are Gregory of Tours, who died *c.* 594, and Paul the deacon, author of "Vita Gregorii Magni," a short life written between 770 and 780.

Where his immediate predecessors had failed (*vide* Vigilius

—Pelagius II) Gregory succeeded in bringing back the allegiance of the greater part of Western Christendom to the Apostolic see, and exercised a general supervision over all the Churches. The bishops of Tuscany, Gaul, Greece, North Africa, and Spain submitted to his authority, the latter country being converted from Arianism to Catholicism during this pontificate.

Gregory did not abandon his early desire to convert Saxon Britain. In the year 596 he despatched Augustine with a band of forty monks to convey the gospel message to England. The story of their landing in Kent; of their favourable reception by King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha, and the marvellous success of their enterprise is one of the most impressive in English history.

One of the most remarkable of Gregory's letters is addressed to the Bishop of Constantinople, who had once more incurred the censure of the Roman pontiff by styling himself "Universal Bishop." (*Vide* Pelagius II.) Gregory condemns the prelate in very strong language for this offence.

As the Emperor had failed to send help against the Lombards, and the exarch remained in sulky inactivity at Ravenna, it fell to Gregory to protect Rome and her citizens from barbarian servitude. Taking matters into his own hands he negotiated terms of peace with Ariulf, Duke of Spoleto, who had advanced against Rome with his army. Romanus, the exarch, roused to activity by hearing of Gregory's independent action, then marched to Rome and occupied the city, but on his withdrawal a short time afterwards, he took with him the greater part of the garrison. Agilulf, King of the Lombards, then marched on the undefended city. He was met by Pope Gregory on the steps of St. Peter's, and although the story that he retired melted by Gregory's prayers is hardly probable, it is certain that he withdrew without taking the city.

At this period Gregory entered into a friendly correspondence with the Lombard Queen Theolinda, to whom he addressed the series of letters known as his "Dialogues." By the influence he obtained over her he was not only able to negotiate a temporary peace with the Lombards, but also to bring about the conversion of her husband Agilulf and many of his subjects from Arianism to Catholicism.

The Emperor Maurice, jealous of the Pope's attempts to negotiate a separate peace with the Lombards, wrote to him an indignant letter, in which he calls him a traitor and a fool.

The scathing reply of Gregory has been preserved among his letters.

In the year 602 Phocas, a base usurper, having murdered the Emperor Maurice and his young children, ascended the imperial throne. Letters written by Gregory to Phocas, congratulating him on his accession, and full of extravagant praise of the usurper, are held by some historians to have left a stain on the memory of the writer. It may be said in excuse for him that his zeal for the advance of the Church probably caused him to welcome a change of dynasty, and blinded him to the cowardice and cruelty of the usurper. Possibly also he did not know all the circumstances of the ascent of Phocas to the throne.

Gregory the Great died on 12th March 604. His body was laid to rest in front of the sacristy in the atrium of St. Peter's. His relics were moved several times, the last occasion being in the pontificate of Paul V, in 1606, when they were placed in the chapel of Clement VIII. His canonization was effected soon after his death at the popular desire. His pontificate marks an epoch in the history of Latin christianity, and to this day the indelible impress of his influence remains on the doctrine, discipline, and organization of the Catholic Church.

While a large number of the works attributed to Gregory I are probably spurious, the following are undoubtedly genuine: "Moralium Libri XXXV, seu Expositio in beatum Job," "Regulae Pastoralis Liber," "Dialogorum Libri IV," "Homiliarum in Ezechielem Prophetam Libri II," "Homiliarum in Evangelio Libri II," "Epistolarum Libri XIV."

LXVI. SABINIAN, A.D. 604-606

Emperor: PHOCAS, 602-610

SABINIAN, the son of Bonus of Tuscany, a native of the town of Blera, a few miles from Viterbo, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 13th September 604, the vacancy of six months in the Roman see having been occasioned by waiting for the Emperor's confirmation of the election.

While cardinal-deacon of the Roman Church, Sabinian had been sent to Constantinople in 593, as representative of Pope Gregory the Great. There, judging from an extant letter addressed to him by that Pope, his task had been no easy one, for he had to deal with Maurice, an unfriendly Emperor,

and John the Faster, a wary and ambitious prelate. In this letter Gregory censures Sabinian for having permitted the Emperor to address a letter to him suggesting that the Pope ought to make peace with John the Faster. Sabinian ought to have informed the Emperor that the Pope would at once make peace provided John the Faster ceased to assume the title of "Universal Patriarch."

The winter which followed the elevation of Sabinian to the papal chair was one of great misery in Rome, and the surrounding country. Severe frosts had destroyed the vines, a plague of mice followed, and rust appeared among the crops. To add to the horrors and famine, war with the Lombards again threatened the unhappy people, for a truce which had been arranged by the exarch expired in April 605. Smaragdus, the exarch, succeeded, however, in prolonging the peace by payment of a large sum of money to the invaders.

Pope Gregory I had accumulated a great store of corn for distribution to the poor in Rome. Sabinian, who seems to have disapproved of the policy of his predecessor in this respect, now sold this corn at a high price to the Roman people. A reaction against the memory of Gregory had evidently arisen among a certain party in Rome at this time. Accounts differ as to what actually took place, and the early biographers of Gregory the Great, being determined to protect his fame, accused Sabinian of avarice and want of charity to the poor. Much of what is related with regard to the dispute is evidently invention.

Pope Sabinian is recorded to have made gifts of lamps to St. Peter's Church, and also to have increased the number of the clergy. He died in February 606, and was buried in St. Peter's. According to the "Liber Pontificalis," his body was conveyed to the church, not through the city by the usual route, but through St. John's Gate and across the Tiber by the Ponte Molle. Some writers infer that this was in order to prevent a riot by the party which had been incensed against him. The epitaph of Sabinian is given by Duchesne ("Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 315, *note*).

LXVII. BONIFACE III, A.D. 607

Emperor: PHOCAS, 602-610

THE death of Pope Sabinian was followed by a vacancy of eleven months and twenty-six days in the Roman see, due to the delay occasioned by waiting for the imperial assent to the new election. On Sunday, 19th February 607, Boniface a Roman, son of John Cataaudioces, was consecrated Bishop of Rome.

He is believed to be the same Boniface who, when a deacon, had represented Gregory the Great for some time at the imperial court at Constantinople, and to whom certain extant letters were addressed by that pontiff. While there he is recorded to have won the imperial favour by flattery, and to have afterwards obtained from Phocas an edict declaring the see of Rome and not that of Constantinople to be the first of all sees, and acknowledging the Pope's claim to the position of "Universal Bishop." Some writers ascribe the issue of this edict to the fact that the Emperor Phocas was at that period at variance with Cyriacus, Patriarch of Constantinople.

Pope Boniface III held a council in St. Peter's, composed of seventy-two bishops, thirty-three presbyters, and all the deacons and other clergy of the Roman Church. In this assembly the Pope renewed the decrees against simony, and promulgated a law that until three days had elapsed after the burial of a pope, no steps were to be taken for the election of a successor. He also pronounced a sentence of anathema against any who should presume to speak of a successor during the Pope's lifetime.

Boniface III died after a pontificate of eight months, twenty-two days, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXVIII. BONIFACE IV, A.D. 608-615

Emperors: PHOCAS, 602-610; HERACLIUS, 610-641

ANOTHER vacancy in the Roman see, this time of ten months, probably due to delay in receiving confirmation of the new election from the Emperor at Constantinople, followed the death of Boniface III. It was not until the autumn of 608 that the new pope was consecrated.

Boniface, the chosen pontiff was the son of John, a physician,

and a native of Marsi in the province of Valeria. He has been identified by some writers as the Boniface referred to by Gregory I in one of his epistles as his beloved son, who was related to the priest Stephen, of the province of Valeria, and who was one of the administrators of the Papal States under Pope Gregory. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. i, p. 269.)

Soon after his election he is said to have converted his house into a monastery which he endowed, and where he lived the life of a monk until the end of his pontificate. By permission of the Emperor Phocas, the famous Pantheon, founded by M. Agrippa, son-in-law of Augustus, in honour of Cybele and all the other gods and goddesses, and rebuilt by Hadrian, was converted by Pope Boniface IV into a Christian Church, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the martyrs. An interesting account of the ceremony of its dedication is given in Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome" (Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 110 and ff.) In October 610 the usurper Phocas was deposed and slain, Heraclius, son of the exarch of Africa, ascending the imperial throne in his place.

Bede records that during this pontificate Mellitus, first Bishop of London, visited Rome to consult the Pope with reference to the affairs of the recently founded English Church. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," Sellar's trans., ii, 4, p. 92.) While in Rome Mellitus assisted at a council which was then being held to settle certain questions as to the rule of monasteries. The genuine decrees of this council seem not to have been preserved, those extant being generally considered spurious. Mellitus, on his return to England, took with him copies of the decrees, together with two letters from Pope Boniface, one being addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the English clergy, and the other to King Ethelbert and the English people. The Pope's letter to Ethelbert is extant, and though it is considered spurious by certain writers, including Hefele, it is accepted as genuine by Jaffé and Rev. H. K. Mann. In this letter Pope Boniface, by his apostolic authority, grants to King Ethelbert what he has asked through Mellitus, namely, that in the monastery over which Laurence presides, the King may establish a dwelling for other monks, supposed by some writers to be English monks.

During this pontificate the Irish missionary, St. Columban, who had taken refuge in Italy under the protection of the Lombard King Agilulf, and had founded the monastery of

Bobbio, addressed a remarkable letter to the Pope. It appears that St. Columban had been influenced to doubt the orthodoxy of the Pope by certain Istrian bishops, who still accepted "The Three Chapters." (*Vide* Vigilius.) His zeal therefore caused him to address a lengthy epistle to Boniface, exhorting him to summon a council to prove his orthodoxy. In spite of this letter St. Columban seems to have remained on the most friendly terms with the Pope.

A letter from Boniface is extant addressed to Theodoric II, King of Burgundy, and referring to the election of Florian, Archbishop of Arles, and also a letter to the same Florian, sent by the Pope to that prelate along with the pallium. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 221.)

During this pontificate there was much distress in Rome owing to floods, famine, and pestilence. Boniface IV died in 615, and was buried in the atrium of St. Peter's. His epitaph is given by Duchesne ("Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 317, *note*).

LXIX. DEUSDEDIT, A.D. 615-618

Emperor: HERACLIUS, 610-641

DEUSDEDIT, sometimes called Adeodatus I, a Roman by birth, son of a subdeacon named Stephen, was consecrated on 19th October 615, the Roman see having been vacant five months. During his pontificate Rome was visited by a violent earthquake, followed by the outbreak of a disease resembling leprosy, by which the sufferers became disfigured beyond recognition. The Pope made heroic efforts to help and comfort the afflicted, and Platina records concerning him the following legend, which has been copied by various writers. Deusdedit meeting one day a sufferer covered with the loathsome scab produced by the disease, had so great compassion on him that he approached and kissed him. The man was immediately cured. (*Vide* Platina, "Lives of the Popes," Eng. trans., Benham's edition, p. 144.)

John, the exarch of Ravenna, had been put to death during a popular tumult. The Emperor despatched from Constantinople Eleutherius, his chamberlain, to take the place of John and to avenge his death. Eleutherius arrived in Italy, and after putting to death all those who had been implicated in the murder of John went to Rome, where he was honourably received by Deusdedit. The new exarch then marched to Naples, and

caused to be executed the leader of a recent rebellion there. He afterwards engaged in war with the Lombards, who were then ruled by the youthful King Adalwald, but was defeated by the Lombard general, and only obtained humiliating terms of peace on payment of a large sum of money.

Deusdedit is said to have been the first pope to use leaden seals, called bullae, from which papal decrees afterwards got the name of Bulls. He encouraged and helped the impoverished Roman clergy by gifts of money, and is stated to have ordered extra masses to be said in the churches.

Deusdedit died in November 618, after a pontificate of three years, and was buried in St. Peter's. At his death a sum of money was distributed among the clergy, according to a custom which seems to have existed at this time. An epitaph on this pope, said to be composed by Honorius, his second successor, is given by Duchesne. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 319, *note*.)

LXX. BONIFACE V, A.D. 619-625

Emperor: HERACLIUS, 610-641

THE death of Pope Deusdedit was followed by a vacancy of more than a year in the Roman see, due doubtless to the delay in receiving confirmation of the new election from the Emperor at Constantinople.

On 23rd December 619, Boniface, a Neapolitan, the son of John, was consecrated Bishop of Rome. He is described as a mild and charitable prelate, who showed his love to the clergy by increasing their incomes. The "Liber Pontificalis" records the following decrees issued by him: That the laws of the Empire with regard to wills should be observed; that the right of sanctuary should be respected and none dragged from a church by force; that acolytes were not to presume to handle the relics of the holy martyrs, the priest alone being permitted to do so; that in the Lateran Church the acolyte might not baptize along with the deacon, who was to be assisted by the sub-deacon only.

Boniface V completed and consecrated the cemetery of St. Nicomedas in the Via Nomentana. Bede records that Boniface V manifested an earnest solicitude with regard to the English Church. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," Sellar's trans., ii,

6, p. 98.) A letter, dated 624, is addressed by this Pope to Justus, who had been chosen Archbishop of Canterbury. In this letter, which was evidently sent along with the pallium, the Pope commends Justus, by whose zeal and learning Eadbald, the son and successor of Ethelbert, had been re-converted to the faith. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 223.) Letters from Boniface V addressed to Edwin of Northumbria, and to his queen Ethelberga, are also extant, and are quoted as genuine by Jaffé, and by Bede. In his letter to Edwin, the Pope urges the King to accept the Christian faith, and states that he is sending him a tunic with one gold ornament and a cloak of Ancyra. To Ethelberga he writes urging her to use her influence for the conversion of her husband, and sends her along with the letter gifts of a silver mirror and a gilt ivory comb. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," ed. Bohn, Sellar's trans., ii, 10 and 11, pp. 105-111, and Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 223.) Boniface V died in October 625, and was buried in St. Peter's. His epitaph is given by Duchesne ("Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 322, *note*.)

During this pontificate, on 19th April 622 occurred the memorable flight, or Hegira (Hijra), of the prophet Mohammed, from Mecca to Medina, a date from which his followers still reckon their era. The rise of Mohammedanism was to involve the decline and fall of the Eastern Empire and Church, and one hundred years after the flight of Mohammed from Mecca, the reign of his successors extended from India to the Atlantic Ocean, over Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and the greater part of Spain.

LXXI. HONORIUS I, A.D. 625-638

Emperor: HERACLIUS, 610-641

HONORIUS, a Campanian, whose father Petronius, is said to have been of consular rank, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 3rd November 625. His chief fame rests on his having been condemned as a heretic, more than forty years after his death, by the Sixth Œcumenical Council held at Constantinople in 680. (*Vide* Agatho, *post*, p. 109.)

New theological disputes, concerning the doctrine of one will in the Redeemer, now began to disturb the Eastern Churches. In order to reconcile certain Egyptian prelates with orthodoxy, Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople, had been

induced to admit the Monothelite heresy, that is, the doctrine that in Christ there was but one energy or operation.

Sophronius, afterwards Patriarch of Jerusalem, opposed this doctrine, and wrote a letter to Sergius, denouncing the false peace which had been thus secured with the Monophysites, or those who had been condemned by the Council of Chalcedon for holding that there is but one nature in Christ. (*Vide* Leo I.)

Being anxious to maintain the reconciliation, Sergius wrote to Pope Honorius a letter in which he is held by some authorities to have misrepresented the attitude of Sophronius. Honorius replied that he held the doctrine of One Will in our Lord in the sense that in Him there was no conflict of a vitiated will opposed to the will of the Spirit. It is generally held that Honorius made the mistake of not going deeply enough into the question and of ignoring the points really at issue in order that he might put an end to the dispute. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. i, p. 331, and ff.)

In 658 the Emperor Heraclius, by whose influence it is supposed the doctrine had been first promulgated, issued a document known as the Ecthesis, said to have been composed by Sergius. In this Heraclius ordered all subjects of the Empire to confess one will in our Lord, and to avoid such expressions as "one or two operations."

A synod of bishops held shortly afterwards at Constantinople confirmed this decree, claiming the authority of Pope Honorius for their acceptance of the doctrine. Whether or not Pope Honorius approved of the Ecthesis is unknown, for his death occurred shortly after the issue of that document. He was much respected in Rome on account of his zeal for the Church, and for his benefactions to the clergy for whom he organized courses of instruction.

An interesting account is given by F. Gregorovius ("Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 118 and ff.) of the work undertaken by this Pope of beautifying and restoring many churches in Rome. In the church of St. Agnese fuori le Mura, a large mosaic of three figures, representing St. Agnese, the Pope himself, and another bishop, is still preserved, and is said to have been placed there by Honorius. With the Emperor's consent, Honorius caused the roof of St. Peter's to be re-covered with bronze tiles taken from the temple of Constantine in Rome. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, pp. 323 and 324.) He also repaired the aqueduct of Trajan.

During this pontificate Edwin, King of Northumbria, received Christian baptism. A letter is extant from Honorius to the king, congratulating him on his conversion, and also one to Paulinus, conferring on him the pallium as first Archbishop of York. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," ed. Bohn, Sellar's trans., ii, 16, p. 124.) It is also recorded of Pope Honorius that he sent the missionary, St. Birinus, to convert the West Saxons. (*Ibid.*, p. 147.)

About the year 630 Honorius wrote to the Irish bishops urging them to keep Easter at the same time as the rest of Christendom. After receipt of his letter a council of Irish bishops was held at Magh Lena, where it was decided to send a deputation to Rome to confer with the Pope on the matter. After the return of the deputies the whole of southern Ireland adopted the Roman time of keeping the festival. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. i, p. 325.) Honorius succeeded in reconciling to his communion the see of Aquilea, which had been long at variance with Rome. (*Vide* Pelagius I.) Other extant letters of this Pope show that he promoted missionary work in different countries. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 226.) Honorius died in 638, and was buried on 12th October in St. Peter's.

LXXII. SEVERINUS, A.D. 640

Emperor: HERACLIUS, 610-641

A VACANCY in the Roman see of one year and seven months followed the death of Honorius. The delay in consecrating a new bishop was occasioned by the refusal of the Emperor to confirm the new election because the Pope-elect had refused to sign the Ecthesis. (*Vide* Honorius I.)

Envoys had been sent to Rome to beg the Emperor's consent to the election of Severinus, an aged Roman, the son of Abienus. They were informed that this would be withheld until they had persuaded the Pope-elect to accept the Ecthesis. After considerable delay the envoys are said to have promised that they would do their best to win over Severinus. They were then allowed to return to Rome with the Emperor's confirmation, and Severinus was consecrated on 28th May 640. The "Liber Pontificalis" describes him as a holy man, kind above all and generous to the poor.

In the interval between the election and consecration of Severinus, Maurice, the Chartular to Rome, joined with others, plundered the Lateran Palace. Maurice excited the greed of the soldiery by telling them that they had been defrauded of their pay by the Pope. "For what use is so much money hoarded up in the Lateran Palace," he asked, "when the bishop withholds even the pay which has been sent you by the Emperor?" A mob rushed to the palace, but, Severinus having been warned of the danger, they failed to effect an entrance.

Three days later, however, Maurice obtained entrance by treachery along with the judges. He and his officers then sealed up all the treasures which Christian emperors and other wealthy people had given "for their soul's redemption to the see of Peter, to be used for the poor and for the redemption of captives." ("Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 328.) When this had been done, a message was sent to the exarch Isaac, who at once marched to Rome with his troops, and having banished the principal clergy so that they might not oppose him, he plundered the Lateran Palace for eight days.

Severinus died after a pontificate of two months and four days, and was buried in St. Peter's on 2nd August 640. He is recorded to have increased the incomes of the clergy, and to have issued a decree against the Ecthesis of Heraclius.

LXXIII. JOHN IV, A.D. 640-642

Emperors: HERACLIUS, 610-641; CONSTANTINE III and HERACLEONAS, 641; CONSTANS II, 641-668

ON 24th December 640, John, a Dalmatian, the son of a scholasticus or advocate named Venantius, was consecrated Bishop of Rome. Some historians believe that from this period the exarch of Ravenna was authorized to confirm the papal elections, thus obviating the long vacancies previously occasioned by waiting for the imperial assent to arrive from Constantinople. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, p. 354.)

To alleviate the distress in his native land caused by the invasions of the Slavs, John IV despatched to Dalmatia and Istria the holy and faithful Abbot Martin with large sums of money for the relief of the sufferers, and for the redemption of captives.

Relics of some of the Dalmatian saints were brought from

the ruined churches to Rome and were deposited by Pope John in a fourth oratory, which he caused to be built in the Lateran Baptistery, and which he dedicated to St. Venantius, a Dalmatian bishop. A mosaic still exists placed there by John IV, in which the Pope is depicted offering to St. Venantius a model of his oratory. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 137.)

John IV is said to have sent missionaries to Dalmatia to carry the Gospel to the Slavs. Bede records that this Pope, previous to his consecration, sent letters to the Irish bishops, urging them to conform to the Roman custom in their time of keeping Easter, and also warning them against the Pelagian heresy. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," ii, 19, Sellar's trans., p. 128; also Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 227.)

The Emperor Heraclius died on 11th February 641, and was succeeded by his sons, Constantine III and Heracleonas. The reign of Constantine III lasted only 103 days. He is said to have died by poison, administered by his step-mother Martina, and by Pyrrhus, the patriarch of Constantinople. Heracleonas was shortly afterwards deposed, and Constans II, the eldest son of Constantine III, became emperor.

To Constantine III Pope John IV addressed a letter of apology for Pope Honorius (*q.v.*), attempting to vindicate the name of that bishop from the imputation of heresy. Constantine died either before this apology reached him or before he had time to reply to it. A decree condemning the Monothelite heresy was issued by this Pope.

Pope John IV died after a pontificate of less than two years, and was buried in St. Peter's on 12th October 642.

LXXIV. THEODORE I, A.D. 642-649

Emperor: CONSTANS II, 641-668

ON 24th November 642 Theodore, a Greek, a native of Jerusalem, said to be the son of a bishop named Theodore, was consecrated Bishop of Rome, as successor to John IV. The "Liber Pontificalis" describes him as a lover of the poor, generous, kind, and very merciful to all.

Shortly after the election of Pope Theodore, Maurice the Chartular (*vide* Severinus) raised a rebellion in Rome against the Byzantine rule, and was joined by the Roman soldiery and many important officials. The revolt was quickly quelled, how-

ever, by troops despatched from Ravenna by the exarch Isaac. Maurice took refuge in the church of St. Maria Maggiore, but was dragged from the altar, beheaded, and his head sent to Constantinople.

In October 641 Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople, being under suspicion of having been concerned in the death of the Emperor Constantine III (*vide* John IV), had been deposed, and had fled into exile. Paul, the new patriarch, now sent letters to Pope Theodore, informing him of his elevation to the see of Constantinople, and also sending a profession of his orthodox faith. Theodore replied courteously, assuring Paul that he was rejoiced to hear of his orthodoxy, but at the same time expressing surprise that the Ecthesis still remained posted on the churches in Constantinople, and that the Monothelite prelate Pyrrhus was spoken of in the letters as a holy man. (*Vide* Honorius.) The Pope, therefore, refused to recognize Paul as Patriarch of Constantinople until Pyrrhus had been formally deposed in a council, or had been sent to Rome to be examined. Although no notice was taken of this letter in Constantinople, the western bishops rallied to the side of the Pope, and those of Africa wrote urging him to take stern measures against the Monothelite heresy.

Meantime Pyrrhus, the ex-patriarch, had taken refuge in Africa, where he had come under the influence of Maximus, abbot of Chrysopolis, an indefatigable opponent of Monothelitism. By him Pyrrhus was converted to orthodoxy, and journeyed in his company to Rome in 645. Pyrrhus was received by the Pope with the greatest kindness and respect, and having made a public profession of orthodoxy, was received into communion with the Roman Church. He afterwards, however, went to Ravenna, and for some unknown reason there reverted to Monothelitism. Pope Theodore, indignant at this behaviour, assembled the Roman clergy, and pronounced a solemn sentence of anathema and excommunication against Pyrrhus. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 228.)

The Pope then sent messengers to Constantinople with letters to Paul, urging him to renounce the Monothelite heresy. Paul replied that the doctrine of one will in the Redeemer was alone consistent with the doctrine of the fathers and with that of Pope Honorius (*q.v.*). After receipt of this letter Pope Theodore pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Paul. The patriarch retaliated by ordering the altar in the Pope's chapel at Constantinople to be thrown

down, and the papal envoys to be imprisoned and persecuted. Shortly after this the Emperor Constans II was persuaded by Paul to suppress the Ecthesis, and to publish in its place a document known as the Type. In this he prohibited, under severe penalties, all future discussion of the doctrine of one or two wills. The Type was a failure, because the western prelates insisted on regarding it as a prohibition to teach orthodoxy.

The "Liber Pontificalis" records that during this pontificate the bones of SS. Primus and Felicianus were brought from a catacomb in the Via Nomentana and deposited in the church of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr. Pope Theodore is recorded to have built and endowed several churches in Rome.

Theodore died in 649, after a pontificate of six years and some months, and was buried in St. Peter's on 14th May.

LXXV. MARTIN I, A.D. 649-654

Emperor: CONSTANS II, 641-668

MARTIN, a native of Todi, in Umbria, the son of Fabricius, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 5th July 649. During the disputes concerning the deposition of Pyrrhus (*vide* Theodore), Martin had been papal representative at Constantinople. He is described as a prelate of great learning, but very humble and charitable. Accounts differ as to whether or not his election was ever confirmed by the Emperor. The latter is said to have written urging the new Pope to forbear from further disputes concerning the two wills of the Redeemer. (*Vide* Honorius.)

In October 649 Pope Martin presided over a council of one hundred and five bishops, assembled in the Lateran. This council condemned the Monothelite heresy, and all who professed it, together with the Ecthesis of Heraclius (*vide supra* p. 96) and the Type of Constans II. (*Vide* Theodore.) Pope Martin caused the decrees of this council to be published throughout the west, and also wrote to the bishops of Britain, Spain, and Africa, urging them to support him in putting down the Monothelite heresy. To the east he despatched his own vicar, to supersede the Monothelite bishops of Antioch and Jerusalem.

On hearing of the action taken by the Pope, the Emperor Constans sent a new exarch Olympius to Italy, with orders to march to Rome and seize the Pope if he refused to submit. On his arrival in Rome Olympius at first pretended friendship

towards the Pope, and communicated with him in the church of St. Maria Maggiore. There is a legend that the sword-bearer of Olympius had orders to slay the Pope while he administered the Holy Sacrament, but was struck with blindness at the critical moment.

Shortly afterwards the exarch was forced to leave Rome, and set out with his troops for Sicily, in order to crush a Saracen invasion. There he and a great part of his army perished of some disease in the following year (653).

A new exarch, Theodore Calliopes, was then despatched to Italy by the Emperor, with orders to bring the Pope a prisoner to Constantinople. On the arrival of the exarch, Martin took refuge in the Lateran Church. After taking the precaution to have the church searched lest weapons should be concealed there, Calliopes proceeded thither with a troop of soldiers, on the third day after his arrival. He found the Pope, who was suffering from gout, lying on a bed in front of the altar. No attempt at resistance was made, and the clergy declared their readiness to die with the Pope.

On the following evening Pope Martin was secretly conveyed in a litter to the harbour of Portus, the gates of Rome being shut lest his supporters should attempt to accompany him. During a voyage of three months, the vessel touched only at Messina, where the Pope landed for a short time. He endured great suffering from dysentery, and was at length landed at Naxos, one of the Cyclades in the Ægean Sea. There he is said to have remained a prisoner in a private house for more than a year, subjected to cruel hardships. At length the guards re-embarked with the prisoner. At many places where they touched compassionate people brought presents to supply the Pope's needs, but these were rejected by the soldiers, and the donors ill-treated.

On 17th September 654 the ship reached Constantinople, and, after enduring many insults, the Pope was conveyed to the Prandearian prison, where he remained for ninety-five days. During that time he found means to write to a friendly bishop, Theodore of St. Sophia, two letters, in which he gives an account of his sufferings. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 230.) On 20th December 654 he was brought to trial before the Senate on a charge of treason, no mention being made of the real cause of dispute. He was condemned without a hearing to be publicly scourged, and was afterwards dragged through the streets, a drawn sword being carried in front of him in

token that he was under sentence of death. After being cast bleeding from his wounds into a dungeon where murderers were confined, and kept there for an hour, he was conveyed to the prison of Diomede, where he remained for eighty-five days. On the day following his conveyance thither, the patriarch Paul was seized with mortal illness, and on his death-bed begged and obtained a promise from the Emperor that Pope Martin's life would be spared. After the death of Paul, Pyrrhus was again recognized as patriarch of Constantinople. (*Vide* Theodore I.)

On 24th March 655 the Pope received notice that in two days he would be conveyed into exile. After an affecting farewell with his fellow prisoners, whose love he had won, Pope Martin set out on his last voyage which lasted until 15th May 655. His place of exile was Cherson, in the Crimea, near the modern village of Eupatoria.

There he lived for a few months, suffering great distress from the scarcity of food which prevailed there, and from the cruelty of the barbarian inhabitants. Two letters are extant, written from the Crimea to a friend whom he does not name, lest he should imperil him. In these Pope Martin tells of his sufferings, and expresses sorrowful wonder that no help has come to him from Rome. The second of these letters was written a few days before his death, which occurred on 16th September 655. He was buried in the Church of the Blessed Virgin a short distance from Cherson. Pope Martin was afterwards honoured as a saint by both the Greek and Latin churches, his day in the Latin calendar being 14th November.

LXXVI. EUGENIUS I, A.D. 654?-657

Emperor: CONSTANS II, 641-668

ACCOUNTS differ as to what actually took place after the departure of Pope Martin (*q.v.*) from Rome. Although the Roman see remained vacant for at least a year and some months, a successor to Martin I was certainly elected during the life-time of that Pope. The chosen prelate was Eugenius, a Roman, the son of Rufinus, of the Aventine quarter of the city. From one of the letters written by Pope Martin I during his imprisonment, we learn that he acquiesced in the appointment of his successor. It is recorded of Eugenius that he had been educated for the Church from his cradle, and he is de-

scribed as a prelate of great sanctity, generous, and kind to all men. If, as some writers state, he was the nominee of Constans II, his subsequent history does not show him to have been the tool of that Prince. Legates sent to the Imperial Court by Eugenius, shortly after his election, are said to have been won over by Constans II to favour the Monothelite heresy. (*Vide* Martin I.)

On their return to Rome the legates brought with them a letter from Peter the new patriarch of Constantinople, and also a request from the Emperor that Eugenius would restore the patriarch to his communion. In his letter to the Pope, which was couched in the vaguest terms, Peter avoided making a definite statement about the number of wills or operations in Christ. (*Vide* Honorius I.)

The Roman clergy and people, to whom the contents of this letter were communicated in the church of St. Maria Maggiore, expressed the greatest indignation with the patriarch Peter, and refused to allow the Pope to celebrate Mass until he had promised to reject the letter. For his rejection of the Emperor's overtures the Byzantine authorities threatened to take vengeance on the Pope, and he is said to have been saved from the fate of his predecessor, only by an invasion of the Saracens, which occupied the Emperor at this time.

The first visit to Rome of Wilfrid, afterwards the famous Archbishop of York, is generally stated to have been made during this pontificate. The youthful noble of Lindisfarne was kindly received by the Pope, who gave him his blessing.

Pope Eugenius I died on 2nd June 657, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXXVII. VITALIAN, A.D. 657-672

Emperors: CONSTANS II to 668; CONSTANTINE IV (POGONATUS), 668-685

VITALIAN, who was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 30th July 657, was the son of Anastasius, and a native of Segnia (Segni), a town of Campagna. He seems to have adopted a conciliatory policy towards the Emperor Constans with regard to the Monothelite heresy, probably in the hope of restoring that prince to orthodoxy. (*Vide* Honorius I.)

Papal legates were hospitably received in Constantinople, and on their return to Rome brought from the Emperor to the

Holy See the gift of a Book of the Gospels, in a gold cover, ornamented with precious stones of extraordinary size.

In 662 the Emperor Constans II, who had made himself odious to the people of Constantinople by the murder of his brother, voluntarily retired to Sicily. On his way he visited Rome, and was received with the highest honours by Pope Vitalian, the pontiff and his clergy going out to receive him as far as the sixth milestone on the Appian Way.

On the day of his arrival in the city the Emperor visited the tomb of St. Peter, and presented an offering. Three days later he visited the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and on the following Sunday made his ceremonial entry into St. Peter's, accompanied by a procession of his troops and by the clergy carrying wax-lights. Mass was celebrated, and the Emperor laid upon the altar as an offering a mantle of gold tissue. The following week he bathed and dined at the Lateran Palace, and had another interview with the Pope in St. Peter's previous to leaving Rome. During the intervals Constans spent his time in plundering the city, and did not even spare the churches. He removed many valuable monuments, and all the gold, silver, brass, and marble on which he could lay hands, even stripping the Pantheon of its gilt-bronze tiles. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 343.)

After remaining twelve days in the city, Constans retired with his plunder to Syracuse. There he lived the remaining four years of his life, during which time he oppressed the people of Sicily by heavy taxation. On 15th July 668, he was assassinated in his bath. Constans was succeeded by his eldest son, Constantine IV, surnamed Pogonatus, or the Bearded.

In the year 664, died Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury. The priest Wighard being chosen for the vacant see was sent by King Egbert of Kent, and King Oswy of Northumbria to Rome, to receive ordination from the Pope. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," Sellar's trans., iii, 29, p. 208.) Wighard arrived in Rome, but died there soon afterwards of a pestilence which was then raging. Pope Vitalian wrote to King Oswy informing him of the death of Wighard, and sending gifts of relics. The Pope's letter is given in full by Bede. (*Vide ibid.*, pp. 208-211.)

In 668 Vitalian made choice of a Greek, then in Rome, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and consecrated him Archbishop of Canterbury. This was no other than Theodore, the able and influential prelate, who was to play an important part in the history of the English Church.

A letter is extant, written by Vitalian to Maurus, Bishop of Ravenna, in which the Pope summons that prelate to Rome to answer the charges made against him. Ravenna being the seat of the exarchate, Maurus had claimed for his see independence from the jurisdiction of Rome. Having refused to obey the summons, Maurus was excommunicated, and in turn had the audacity to pronounce a solemn sentence of excommunication against the Pope.

Several letters written by Vitalian also exist relative to the case of John, Bishop of Latta, in Crete, who had been deposed from his see by his metropolitan, and whom the Pope ordered to be reinstated. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd edition, vol. i, pp. 235-236.) Pope Vitalian died on 27th January 672, after an uneventful pontificate of fourteen and a half years, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXXVIII. ADEODATUS, A.D. 672-676

Emperor: CONSTANTINE IV (POGONATUS), 668-685

FROM the monastery of St. Erasmus on the Caelian Hill, the mild and gentle Adeodatus, son of Jovinian, a Roman, was summoned to succeed Vitalian in the see of Rome. His consecration took place on 11th April 672. The "Liber Pontificalis" records that he was most compassionate to strangers, ever ready to grant their requests, and that high and low might at all times have access to him. Very little is known of the acts of this pontiff further than that he enlarged with the addition of new buildings his monastery of St. Erasmus on the Caelian Hill, and restored the church of St. Peter on the Campus Meruli in the Via Portuensis.[1] (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 346.)

A decree is preserved by which Adeodatus granted certain privileges to the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul at Canterbury, over which the abbot Hadrian presided. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 237.) This Hadrian had been the companion of Archbishop Theodore on his journey from Rome to Canterbury (*vide* Vitalian), and had been appointed abbot of this monastery after his arrival in Britain. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," Sellar's trans., iv, 1, p. 216.) Pope Adeodatus died in July 676, and

[1] The remains of this church were discovered in 1858, and destroyed in the construction of the railway to Civita Vecchia.

was buried in St. Peter's. After his death storms, the most terrible in the memory of man, are said to have occurred. It was believed that if God's mercy had not been won by daily litanies all agriculture would have been at a standstill. The corn, however, grew again and came to maturity. (*Cf.* "Liber Pontificalis," *ibid.*)

LXXIX. DONUS, A.D. 676-678

Emperor: CONSTANTINE IV (POGONATUS), 668-685

DONUS, a Roman, the son of Maurice, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 2nd November 678, after a vacancy in the Apostolic see of four months and seventeen days. During his short pontificate of one year and five months, he undertook the work of beautifying and restoring several of the Roman churches. He caused the quadrangle in front of St. Peter's to be paved with blocks of white marble, and also repaired the church of St. Euphemia in the Appian Way. The "Liber Pontificalis" records that he restored the church of St. Paul outside the walls. Duchesne ("Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 348) believes this to refer not to the church itself, but to the small chapel on the road to St. Paul's, where SS. Peter and Paul are said to have parted on their way to martyrdom.

A mosaic portrait of Donus, with that of Pope Honorius, long existed in the church of Sta. Martina in the Forum, and is supposed to have been placed there in his time. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. 2, p. 22).

Pope Donus ordered a colony of Nestorian monks, who had settled in the monastery of Boethius, to be dissolved, and the monks dispersed throughout different monasteries. The monastery vacated by them was granted to Roman monks. A wonderful comet is recorded to have appeared for three months during the reign of this pope. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," *ibid.*)

Pope Donus died in April 678, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXXX. AGATHO, A.D. 678-681

Emperor: CONSTANTINE IV (POGONATUS), 668-685

WHEN the cardinal-priest, Agatho, a Sicilian, son of Pannonius Amon, was summoned from the Benedictine monastery of St. Hermas, in Palermo, to ascend the pontifical

throne, he is said to have already attained the extraordinary age of one hundred and three, and had lived under sixteen popes. Judging, however, from the activity and zeal which he manifested in all ecclesiastical affairs, it seems probable that his age has been exaggerated. Before embracing the monastic life he had lived in the world as a married man for twenty years. Pope Agatho was beloved for his great charity, and it is recorded of him that he encouraged all by smiles and kindly looks. ("Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 350.)

The Emperor Constantine IV, victorious for the time being over the Saracens, had written to Pope Donus suggesting that steps should be taken to reunite east and west in one communion, the Monothelite heresy having apparently become unpopular in Constantinople. (*Vide* Honorius I.) Before the Emperor's letter reached Rome, Pope Donus was dead, and it therefore fell to his successor to comply with the Emperor's request.

As a preliminary step towards settling the question, provincial synods were held in different places, and delegates from these chosen to attend a Lateran synod, which Agatho summoned to meet in Rome in the spring of 680. Decrees of the provincial synods held at Milan and at Heathfield (Hatfield, in Herts), have been preserved.

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a synod of many venerable clerics to meet at Heathfield, and having diligently inquired, found them entirely free from any taint of heresy. Among those present at this synod was the abbot John, archchanter of St. Peter's, who had been sent by Pope Agatho to Britain that he might teach in the monastery of Wearmouth the method of singing throughout the year, as it was practised in St. Peter's in Rome. The abbot John was appointed to carry the decrees of this synod to Rome, but died on his journey thither. The testimony of the faith of the English nation was, however, conveyed to Rome, and most favourably received by Pope Agatho, and by all who heard or read it. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," Sellar's trans., iv, 18, pp. 257-259.)

In the Easter week of 680, the council summoned by Pope Agatho met in Rome, in the Lateran Palace. It was agreed to comply with the Emperor's request, expressed in his letter, namely, that qualified men, acquainted with the Monothelite writings, and having authority to speak in the Pope's name,

should be sent to Constantinople to confer with the patriarch, and with Macarius of Antioch, the most obstinate of the heretics.

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, had been invited to attend this council, and to accompany the envoys to Constantinople, but had declined the invitation, being at that time engaged in a dispute with Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, who had been (as it eventually proved) unjustly deposed from his see. Wilfrid was at this time in Rome, having journeyed thither to make an appeal to the Pope against his deposition. His case was heard before the synod, and the Pope issued an order that he should be reinstated in his see of York. Wilfrid returned to England, but owing to the enmity of King Egfrid, the Pope's order was not carried out until the year 686. (*Vide* Bede, *ibid.*, v, 19, p. 352.)

The envoys from Rome, bearing letters from the Pope, and from the bishops of the Lateran synod to Constantine, arrived in Constantinople on 10th September 680 and were honourably received by the Emperor. On 7th November 680 the Sixth Œcumenical Council of the Church assembled at Constantinople in a hall of the imperial palace known as the Trullus or Cupola. Accounts differ as to the number of bishops present, and although one writer mentions two hundred and ninety-two, the minutes of the council show one hundred and seventy-four to have been the largest number present at any one session. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. 2, p. 42.) At several of the sessions, of which there were eighteen in all, the Emperor was present. The side of orthodoxy was supported in the discussions chiefly by the envoys from Rome, and the side of Monothelitism by Macarius of Antioch. At the seventh session, George the patriarch of Constantinople declared himself a convert to orthodoxy, and at a subsequent meeting it was agreed that the Monothelites had forged several of their documents. The council resulted in anathemas being pronounced against all the upholders of the Monothelite heresy, including Pope Honorius (*utpote qui eos in his secutus est*), and a lengthy statement was drawn up, setting forth the Catholic doctrine of the two wills of our Lord. Macarius of Antioch was stripped of his pallium and driven from the assembly. (*Vide ante*, p. 95.)

At the fifteenth session of the council a fanatical monk, named Polychronius, proposed that the experiment should be tried of placing a document supporting Monothelitism on the body of a dead man. If the dead arose not, the monk would

then submit himself to the will of the Emperor. A corpse was accordingly placed in a bath in an adjoining room and the test applied, but although the assembly waited patiently for some hours, the dead did not return to life. Polychronius nevertheless remained unshaken in his support of the heresy, and was unanimously condemned to be degraded from all his functions.

At the close of the council an edict was issued by Constantine IV ordering all his subjects, lay and cleric, to accept the decrees of the council on pain of punishment. He also sent with the envoys a letter addressed to Pope Leo II, for Pope Agatho had died either while the council was sitting, or before the papal envoys had left Constantinople. The date of his death is usually given as 10th January 681, on which day he is commemorated in the Roman calendar. He was buried in St. Peter's. His age at the time of his death is given as one hundred and seven. The number of miracles which he is said to have wrought gained for him the title of Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker.

Decrees of this pope are extant, granting certain privileges to Wearmouth Abbey; to the monastery of Medeshamstead (Peterborough); to monasteries at Hexham and Ripon; to St. Paul's, London; and to the monastery of Chertsey in Surrey, near the river Thames, which had been built by Erkenwald, Bishop of London. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 239.) A letter from Pope Agatho also exists, addressed to all bishops, in which he claims for all papal decrees the authority of St. Peter. (*Vide ibid.*)

LXXXI. LEO II, A.D. 682-683

Emperor: CONSTANTINE IV (POGONATUS), 668-685

ACCORDING to some records the successor of Pope Agatho was not consecrated until 17th August 682, the Roman see having thus been vacant for one year and seven months. Father Mann accounts for this by supposing that the business connected with the Sixth General Council, and the negotiations of the legates to obtain freedom from the imperial confirmation of papal elections (*vide* Benedict II), was the cause of the delay. (Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. 2, p. 49.)

The new Pope, Leo II, was a Sicilian, the son of Paul, and is described in the "Liber Pontificalis" as a most eloquent man, well instructed in the holy scriptures, learned in the Greek and Latin tongues, skilled in music, a doer as well as a preacher of good works. The decrees of the Sixth General Council recently held in Constantinople (*vide* Agatho), were brought to Rome during this pontificate, and were received by Pope Leo. A letter written by Leo to the Emperor Constantine with reference to these decrees is extant, and also four letters on the same subject sent by the Pope to Spain with Peter the deacon. These are addressed to the Spanish bishops, to Quiricius, Archbishop of Toledo (who died before it reached him), to a certain Spanish count Simplicius, and to King Ervigius of Spain. In the last, Leo refers to the condemnation of Pope Honorius (*q.v.*) for heresy by the Sixth General Council. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. 240-241.)

Leo obtained from the Emperor Constantine IV an edict making the see of Ravenna, whose bishop had previously attempted to claim independence (*vide* Vitalian, p. 106), for ever subject to the see of Rome.

During this pontificate Macarius of Antioch, the Monothelite prelate, with six of his associates, was banished to Rome by the Emperor (*vide* p. 109). Pope Leo caused them to be shut up in different monasteries, where two of them soon embraced orthodoxy, but Macarius himself remained obdurate.

On 22nd February 683 Leo II dedicated to St. Paul a chapel which he had built adjoining the church of Sta. Bibiana, and in which he placed the relics of many martyrs. He also built a church dedicated to SS. Sebastian and George, identified by Duchesne ("Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 359) as the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, in our days to become the titular church of Cardinal Newman.

Pope Leo II died on 3rd July 683 after a pontificate of ten months, seventeen days, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXXXII. BENEDICT II, A.D. 684-685

Emperor: CONSTANTINE IV (POGONATUS), 668-685

ON 26th June 684, after a vacancy of nearly a year in the Roman see, Benedict, a Roman, the son of John, descended from a noble Sabine family, was consecrated successor to Pope Leo II.

He is recorded to have served the Church from an early age, having been trained as a singer in the "Schola Cantorum." He exercised much generosity towards the clergy and towards the poor of Rome.

In 684 a council met at Toledo in Spain to consider the question of the decrees of the Sixth General Council, which had been sent to Spain by Pope Leo II (*q.v.*). After careful examination of these decrees, the assembled bishops unanimously agreed to accept them, and their example was followed by the bishops of the other provinces throughout Spain. Their decision was announced to Pope Benedict in a letter which reached him in the beginning of 685.

Benedict II is said to have received from the Emperor Constantine IV an edict permitting the pope-elect to be consecrated at once without waiting for the imperial confirmation (*vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 363). Some authorities maintain, however, that the right of the exarch to confirm in place of the Emperor was not really cancelled (*vide* John IV), and shortly after this time references again appear to applications for confirmation by the exarch.

Constantine IV sent to Pope Benedict locks of the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, in token that he wished the Pope to adopt the youths. The locks of hair were received by the Pope with great ceremony in the presence of the clergy and army.

Benedict is recorded to have shown much zeal in his endeavours to convert to orthodoxy the Monothelite prelate Macarius of Antioch (*vide* Leo II), whom he caused to be visited by his own emissary for forty days in succession. Macarius, however, remained obdurate until his death.

During his short pontificate Benedict II repaired the churches of St. Peter and S. Lorenzo in Lucina, and also the church of Sta. Maria ad Martyres which was the ancient Pantheon. Pope Benedict died on 8th May 685 and was buried in St. Peter's. He bequeathed to the clergy and to the monasteries thirty pounds of gold. The "Liber Pontificalis" records that an extraordinary star appeared in the heavens during this pontificate, and that there was afterwards an eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which sent forth so great a fire that it burned up all the places around. (*Vide* ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 364.)

LXXXIII. JOHN V, A.D. 685-686

Emperors: CONSTANTINE IV (POGONATUS), to September, 685; JUSTINIAN II (RHINOTMETUS), 685-695

SOME time between May and the end of July 685, John, a Syrian of the province of Antioch, the son of Cyriacus, was consecrated Bishop of Rome. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 242.) In accordance with the decree obtained by his predecessor from the Emperor Constantine, John was consecrated without the usual delay incurred by waiting for the imperial confirmation. (*Vide* Benedict II.)

When a deacon of the Roman Church, John had been sent to Constantinople to represent Pope Agatho (*q.v.*), at the Sixth General Council. While there he is said to have obtained favour with the Emperor Constantine IV, who granted at his request the reduction of certain taxes paid by the patrimony of the church in Sicily and Calabria, as well as of other dues paid by the Roman Church.

Although Pope John was an aged man at the time of his election, and spent most of his short pontificate in bed, he nevertheless manifested much zeal in ecclesiastical affairs. He assembled a synod of bishops in Rome, at which he condemned Citonatus, Bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, who had acted independently of the holy see in ordaining a certain Novellus Bishop of Turris Libissonis. The Pope issued a decree forbidding the bishops of Cagliari to take such independent action in future. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 242.)

Pope John V died in 686, after a pontificate of about a year, and was buried in St. Peter's on 2nd August.

LXXXIV. CONON, A.D. 686-687

Emperor: JUSTINIAN II (RHINOTMETUS), 685-695

ON the death of John V, strife arose between the clergy and people of Rome, on the one hand, and the army on the other, with regard to the choice of a new bishop. The soldiery assembled in the church of St. Stephen, and determined to elect the priest Theodore, while the clergy, who waited outside the Lateran Church, which was also held by the army, chose as their candidate the arch-presbyter Peter. Messages passed between the opposed parties, but neither side seemed inclined to give way. At length after some delay, the

duration of which is uncertain, the clergy entered the Lateran Palace, and there nominated a third candidate, the aged priest Conon, son of Benedict. His venerable aspect and white hair won for him the favour of the people, and the army seeing the clergy and people unanimous, also agreed to his election.

The new Pope had been educated in Sicily, but is stated to have been a Thracian, which may mean that his father was an officer of the Thracian troops. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. 2, p. 69.) Milman ("Hist. of Latin Christianity," vol. ii, p. 334) supposes that owing to the fact of the election not having been unanimous, the exarch at Ravenna now resumed his right of interference and final sanction before allowing the consecration of the new Pope to take place. (*Vide* Benedict II, p. 112.)

Conon was consecrated on 21st October 686. He appears to have been on friendly terms with the Emperor Justinian II, who addressed to him an epistle on the subject of the decrees of the Sixth General Council, and who also issued an edict remitting certain dues hitherto payable by the patrimony of the church in Bruttium and Lucania.

The unworldliness of Conon, which had recommended him to the electors, disqualified him to make choice of fit persons for ecclesiastical offices. Against the advice of his counsellors he insisted on choosing Constantine, a deacon of Syracuse, as rector of the patrimony of the Church in Sicily, granting him at the same time certain honours and privileges. Constantine soon proved himself untrustworthy. His extortions led to sedition, and he was imprisoned by order of the governor of the province.

During this pontificate St. Kilian, the Irish missionary, who afterwards laboured with wonderful results in Franconia, visited Rome, and was kindly received by Pope Conon.

Pope Conon died, after a long illness, in September 687, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXXXV. SERGIUS I, A.D. 687-701

Emperors: JUSTINIAN II (RHINOTMETUS), 685-695; LEONTIUS, 695-698; TIBERIUS III (APSIMAR), 698-705

IT is recorded that during the long illness of Pope Conon, Pascal, archdeacon of the Roman Church, intrigued with the exarch John Plato, to whom he promised a large sum of

money if he would secure his election as pope. Plato agreed, but no sooner was Pope Conon dead than the party who had previously put forward the priest Theodore (*vide* Conon) now determined to secure his election. Strife raged between the rival factions until a third party brought forward a new candidate, who soon received the support of the clergy and people.

This was Sergius, a Syrian of Antioch, whose father, Tiberius, had settled in Sicily. Having shown a taste for music during a visit to Rome, Sergius was sent for training to the chief cantor. In 683 he was ordained a priest by Pope Leo III. The "Liber Pontificalis" records that Sergius was never wearied of saying mass in the catacombs, which he caused to be beautified and restored after he became pope.

After the election of Sergius, Theodore withdrew his claims; meanwhile Pascal secretly despatched an invitation to the exarch Plato to come to Rome to support him. Plato arrived, but soon showed that his sole object in coming was not to support Pascal but to secure the hundred pounds of gold which the latter had promised him, and which he now forced Pope Sergius to pay. When this demand had been unwillingly complied with, Plato permitted the consecration of Sergius to take place. Pascal was afterwards accused of magic and imprisoned in a monastery till his death in 692.

In this pontificate Caedwalla, King of the West Saxons, quitted his crown for the sake of our Lord and His heavenly kingdom, and set out for Rome, being desirous to obtain the peculiar honour of being baptized in the Church of the Blessed Apostles. There he was baptized on Easter Day 689 by Pope Sergius. And being still in his white garments he fell sick and departed this life to dwell for ever with the blessed in heaven. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," Sellar's trans., v, 6, p. 312.)

Wilbrord, missionary of Friesland, who had been trained in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon and in Ireland, also paid two visits to Rome during this pontificate. On the occasion of his second visit in 696, he was consecrated Archbishop of Utrecht by Pope Sergius. (*Vide* Bede, *ibid.*, v, 11, p. 324.) Sergius favoured the cause of Wilfrid, whom he wished to see restored to the see of York (*vide* Agatho), and ordered his accusers to come to Rome.

William of Malmesbury quotes a letter, written by Pope Sergius to Coelfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth, in which he states that certain points of ecclesiastical discipline being in dispute, he has need of a person skilled in literature. He therefore begs

the abbot to send to Rome without delay "that religious servant of God, Bede, the venerable priest of his monastery." (*Vide* William of Malmesbury, "English Chron.," ed. Bohn, i, 3, p. 57.) Certain modern writers, however, doubt if this copy of the letter is genuine, for in an older copy of the same letter there is no mention of Bede. There is, moreover, no evidence that the celebrated historian ever visited Rome. (*Vide* Introduction to Bede's "Ecclesiastical History," Sellar's trans., xxxvi.) In a letter addressed to all the bishops of Britain, Sergius approved the election of Berthwald, as successor of Theodore in the see of Canterbury, and exhorted all the bishops to obey him as they would obey the Pope himself. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 244.) Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, visited Rome during this pontificate, and was honourably received by Pope Sergius, who granted him certain privileges for the monasteries of Malmesbury and Frome. (*Vide* "English Chronicle," *ibid.*, p. 35.)

The most important event of this pontificate was the assembling of a council, known as the Quinsextan, by the Emperor Justinian II, at Constantinople. Justinian, finding that the fifth and sixth General Councils had dealt only with points of dogma, determined to assemble a supplementary council to deal with points of discipline. This council, which derived its name from the two previous councils, met in 692, and was attended by two hundred and eleven Eastern bishops.

One hundred and two canons of discipline were passed, most of these being identical with older canons. The 13th canon forbade married men who entered the priesthood to put away their lawful wives although priests were forbidden to marry after taking holy orders. The 36th canon decreed that the see of Constantinople should enjoy equal privileges with that of Rome, although still regarded as second after Rome.

Justinian sent these decrees to Rome for the Pope's signature, but Sergius, who had not been represented at the council, refused to receive or even to read them. The Emperor, furious at this defiance of his authority, ordered Zacharias, the captain of his guards, to proceed to Rome and to bring the Pope a prisoner to Constantinople. On the arrival of Zacharias, the army and people of Rome, whose affections the Pope had completely won, immediately rose in his defence. Troops also poured into the city from Ravenna and the Duchy of Pentapolis, and surrounded the Lateran Palace.

Zacharias, who although a very big man was extremely

timid, hid under the Pope's bed. His life was spared at the Pope's request; but the Roman army refused to withdraw from the Lateran Palace until Zacharias had left Rome. Before the Emperor could revenge this insult to his dignity he was deposed by the general Leontius, who ascended the imperial throne in 695. Justinian's nose was cut off and he was banished to the Crimea. Three years later Leontius was in turn deposed and mutilated by the rebel Apsimar, who then assumed the imperial title as Tiberius III.

During this pontificate the see of Aquileia, which had been separated for 142 years owing to the dispute about "The Three Chapters" (*vide* Vigilius, p. 77), was reconciled to Rome.

Pope Sergius added to the canon of the Mass the "Agnus Dei," which is said thrice at the breaking of the Host. ("Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 379.) He also endowed and decorated the church of Sta. Susanna in the Quirinal, of which he had been priest, and also repaired the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. He is recorded to have discovered in a secret corner in the sacristy of St. Peter a silver casket, containing a portion of the true cross, beautifully jewelled. This relic was afterwards carefully preserved in the Lateran. While searching in the sacristy Sergius also found the body of Pope Leo the Great, which he caused to be transferred to a magnificent tomb within the basilica. The inscription which Sergius caused to be placed on the tomb is given by Duchesne ("Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 379).

Pope Sergius I died after a pontificate of thirteen years and nine months, and was buried in the Vatican on 8th September 701.

LXXXVI. JOHN VI, A.D. 701-705

Emperor: TIBERIUS III (APSIMAR), 698-705

JOHN, a Greek, the son of Petronius, was elected Bishop of Rome on 30th October 701. During his pontificate, Wilfrid, who had been again expelled from his see of York, visited Rome for the third time to make his appeal to the Pope. (*Vide* Agatho.) In 704 Pope John VI assembled a synod in Rome, which held no less than seventy sessions (*vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 246), during which the dispute between Wilfrid and Bertwald, Archbishop of Canterbury, was carefully considered.

The assembled bishops learned with surprise that the venerable prelate before them, who was now seventy years of age, was the same Wilfrid who had visited Rome in the time of Pope Agatho. They acquitted him unanimously of the charges brought against him, and he returned to England with letters from the Pope in his favour addressed to Ethelred King of Mercia, Aldfrid, King of Northumbria, and Bertwald, Archbishop of York. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," Sellar's trans., v, 19, p. 353.) The Pope ordered Bertwald to assemble a synod of English bishops to examine the case of Wilfrid. This synod met in the following year (705), and, in accordance with the decision at which it arrived, Wilfrid's monasteries of Hexham and Ripon were restored to him, and also the see of Hexham. He died in peace four years later (709).

Theophylact, the exarch of Ravenna, arrived in Rome during this pontificate, and although the reason of his coming seems uncertain, the people of Rome were persuaded that it portended evil to the Pope. (*Vide* Sergius I.) Troops of the local militias therefore advanced to Rome, and encamped in the vicinity. Pope John VI, anxious to avoid bloodshed, assured them that Theophylact had no evil intentions. They, however, refused to disband until certain infamous persons, who had intrigued with the exarch to plunder some of the wealthy Roman citizens, had been delivered up and punished by a heavy fine.

The Lombards, probably taking advantage of these dissensions, now renewed their attacks under Gisulf, the Lombard Duke of Benevento, and seized several towns in Campania. They advanced as far as a place called the "Horrea," supposed to be the granary of Puteoli. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 385.) There being no force sufficient to oppose them. John VI is said to have sent to the Lombard camp an embassy of priests, furnished with a large sum of money. This embassy not only succeeded in persuading Gisulf to retire to his own territories, but also ransomed all the captives who had been taken by the Lombards.

It is recorded of John VI, that he made certain improvements in the churches of St. Andrew, St. Mark, and St. Paul. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," *ibid.*) He died in January 705, and was buried in St. Peter's.

LXXXVII. JOHN VII, A.D. 705-707

Emperor: JUSTINIAN II (RHINOTMETUS), restored 705-711

JOHN, a Greek, the son of Plato, of a wealthy and distinguished family, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 1st March 705. Previous to his election John had been one of the rectors of the Papal patrimony in Rome, and while holding this office had caused a memorial to be erected to his parents, Plato and Blatta, in the church of St. Anastasia in Rome. Judging from the accounts given of this memorial and its inscription, we may infer that he was an affectionate and dutiful son. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. 2, p. 110.)

In the first year of John's pontificate, Justinian II, the Slit-nosed, escaped from his place of exile in the Crimea (*vide* Sergius I), and with the help of the King of Bulgaria besieged Constantinople with 15,000 horse. Having taken the city, Justinian again ascended the Imperial throne; the two usurpers, Leontius and Tiberius Apsimar, were put to death, after enduring the worst forms of torture and ignominy.

Shortly after his restoration, Justinian II sent the decrees of the Quinsextan Council to Rome for the Pope's signature. (*Vide* Sergius.) John VII is said to have simply returned them to Constantinople without condemnation or comment. In refraining from anathematizing the decrees, he is generally held to have been guilty of cowardice.

Friendly relations with the Lombards were re-established during this pontificate, and John VII obtained from the Lombard King Aribert the province of the Church known as the Cottian Alps, which had been seized by his predecessors. The deed of restoration, written in letters of gold, was sent to Rome. The "Liber Pontificalis" gives an account of the work undertaken by this Pope in decorating and restoring the Roman churches. He ornamented various churches with mosaics, among which were several portraits of himself, and made a golden chalice, ornamented with precious stones, weighing twenty pounds.

John VII caused a papal palace to be built on the Palatine near the church of St. Maria Antiqua, and also erected a chapel to our Lady in St. Peter's. Gregorovius gives an interesting account of the mosaics with which John VII adorned the walls of this chapel. Within the chapel he is said to have deposited

the famous handkerchief of St. Veronica, which for centuries was held as one of the most precious relics of the Christian Church. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," vol. ii, pp. 198-199.) The British School of Archaeology, founded in 1899, has brought to light several interesting facts regarding the palace erected by John VII. (*Vide ibid.*, p. 196.)

The old Benedictine abbey of Subiaco which had been destroyed by the Lombards more than a hundred years previously was also restored by John's orders. (*Ibid.*, p. 200.) It is recorded that John VII persuaded the Anglo-Saxon clergy resident in Rome to abandon the use of secular dress, and he wrote urging those in England to follow their example. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 247.) A letter is preserved, dated 30th June 705, in which John grants certain privileges to the monastery of Farfa at the request of Faroald, Duke of Spoleto. (*Ibid.*, p. 246.)

John VII died in his palace on the Palatine in October 707, and was buried in the chapel which he had erected in St. Peter's.

LXXXVIII. SISINNIUS, A.D. 708

Emperor: JUSTINIAN II (RHINOTMETUS), restored 705-711

SISINNIUS, a Syrian, the son of John, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on Sunday, 15th January 708. He had long been so grievously afflicted with gout that he had lost the use of his hands, and was unable to feed himself. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 388.) He nevertheless showed much solicitude for the people of Rome. He ordered lime to be prepared for the restoration of the city walls. But a pontificate which opened with promise was destined to be of short duration. After occupying the Roman see for twenty days, Sisinnius was removed by sudden death, and was buried in St. Peter's on 7th February 708. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 247.)

LXXXIX. CONSTANTINE A.D. 708-715

Emperors: JUSTINIAN II (RHINOTMETUS), restored 705-711; PHILIPPICUS, 711-713; ANASTASIUS II, 713-715

THE fact that Pope Constantine, like his predecessor, Sisinnius, was a Syrian, and the son of John has led Father Mann to infer that the two prelates may have been brothers.

(*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. 2, p. 127.) Constantine, who is described as the mildest of men, was consecrated on 25th March 708. In his time there was a great famine, which lasted three years, and this was followed by a season of remarkable plenty.

Soon after the election of Constantine, Felix, the new Archbishop of Ravenna, arrived in Rome to receive consecration from the Pope. Although the see of Ravenna had been restored to communion with Rome by Pope Leo II (*q.v.*), Felix refused to sign the articles of submission. For this refusal he was menaced with punishment by the imperial officials, and finally consented to sign a document drawn up by himself, in which he stated that he submitted under protest. After his departure from Rome this document was found to be blackened and shrivelled as if by fire.

The Emperor Justinian, who had taken vengeance on his enemies in the East (*vide* John VII), now proceeded to punish those who had acknowledged the authority of the usurpers in the West. Troops were sent to occupy Ravenna, and the leading men of the city, including Archbishop Felix, were sent as prisoners to Constantinople. While the others were put to death, Felix was spared, but he was deprived of his eyes and exiled to the Crimea. Some writers suppose that in thus treating Felix, the Emperor had acted at the Pope's instigation, or with a view to winning his favour in order that he might induce him to sign the decrees of the Quinsextan Council. (*Vide* Sergius I.) These decrees having now been rejected by three successive popes, Justinian II summoned Constantine to Constantinople, that he might there formally declare his submission to the canons.

On 10th October 710, Constantine courageously set out from Rome, accompanied by two bishops, three priests, and eight other attendants. The Pope was permitted to pass the tempestuous winter season at Hydruntium (now Otranto), in Calabria, and while there received an order, signed by the Emperor, commanding that he should be received with honour at all places through which he passed on his journey. Constantine was accordingly most hospitably entertained everywhere, and in the Spring of 711 arrived in Constantinople. There he was met by Tiberius, son of the Emperor. Justinian, who was then resident at Nicaea, came as far as Nicomedia to receive the Pope, and is said to have prostrated himself to kiss

the feet of the Pontiff. On the Sunday following Constantine's arrival the Emperor was present at mass, and received communion from the hands of the Pope.

With regard to the settlement arrived at between Pope and Emperor on the matter of the decrees of the Quinsextan Council, history is silent. Judging from the fact that Pope Constantine returned in safety to Rome, after a year's absence, bringing with him an imperial edict confirming certain important privileges to the Roman Church, it may be inferred that he had at least satisfied the Emperor respecting such canons as were not opposed to the faith of the Catholic Church. During Constantine's absence, the new exarch, John Rizocopus had visited Rome, and had caused four of the chief ecclesiastics to be put to death, apparently without just cause. His own violent death during an insurrection, which occurred shortly afterwards in Ravenna, was attributed to divine vengeance for his treatment of the clerics.

Soon after the return of Constantine to Rome the Emperor Justinian II was assassinated, and Philippicus, a usurper, assumed the imperial purple. By an attempt to restore Monothelitism (*vide* Honorius), Philippicus soon put himself in conflict with Rome. So indignant were the Pope and the Roman people that they refused to pray for him in the canon of the mass, or to permit his name to appear on their coins and charters. A letter sent by Philippicus to the Pope was condemned in a synod of the Roman clergy. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 248.)

As Philippicus had condemned the Sixth General Council, the Pope and the Roman people caused pictorial representations of the six councils of the Church to be placed in the portico of St. Peter's. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 391.) It is probable that had the opportunity been given him Philippicus would have taken vengeance on the Pope for this defiance of the imperial authority. But he was murdered in 713, after a reign of two years, and the new Emperor, Anastasius II, hastened to win favour with the Romans by sending to the Pope a profession of orthodoxy. John, patriarch of Constantinople, also sent a letter to Constantine professing orthodoxy, and acknowledging the supremacy of the Roman see.

During this pontificate Coenred, King of the Mercians, and Offa, a youth of great beauty, heir to the kingdom of the East Saxons, quitted their kingdoms and went to Rome, where

they embraced the monastic life and received the tonsure. (*Vide* Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," Sellar's trans., v, 19, pp. 345, 346.) Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, accompanied these princes to Rome, and received from Pope Constantine certain privileges for his monastery at Evesham. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, 2nd ed., p. 247.) Benedict, the saintly Archbishop of Milan, also visited Rome during this pontificate to consult with the Pope concerning his jurisdiction over the see of Spoleto. It was agreed that this see should be henceforth under the immediate jurisdiction of Rome.

Pope Constantine died after a pontificate of seven years, and was buried in St. Peter's on 9th April 715.

XC. GREGORY II, A.D. 715-731

Emperors: THEODOSIUS III, 716-717; LEO III, the Isaurian, 717-741

THE second Gregory, a Roman, the son of Marcellus, consecrated supreme pontiff on 19th May 715, was destined to become the most prominent figure in papal history since the days of his illustrious predecessor Gregory the Great. He had been trained as a youth in the "Schola Cantorum," and under Pope Sergius I had been entrusted, while a deacon, with the care of the papal library. He accompanied Pope Constantine (*q.v.*) to Constantinople, and proved an able controversialist in the disputes with the Emperor Justinian II. The "Liber Pontificalis" describes him as a prelate of unblamable life, eloquent, learned in the Holy Scriptures, and of resolute will.

One of the first acts of his pontificate was to commence the reparation of the walls of Rome, but a disastrous flood of the Tiber prevented the completion of the work at that time. (*Cf.* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 399.) In monastic affairs he showed the keenest interest, and after the death of his mother converted his paternal mansion into a monastery. He also caused to be repaired the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, which had been destroyed by the Lombards more than a hundred years previously.

A young West Saxon monk named Winifred, better known as Boniface, the name under which he was afterwards consecrated bishop, began his labours in Germany during this pontificate. He twice visited Rome, and received much kindly encouragement from Gregory II.

During the pontificate of Gregory II, Ina, King of the West

Saxons, also went to Rome and embraced the monastic life. The story relates that when in Rome, King Ina sought to remain unhonoured and obscure among the crowd of poor pilgrims, and gained his livelihood by manual labour. He founded, probably during the days of his power, a school in Rome for his own countrymen, known as the "Schola Saxonum," or "Anglorum."

Montalembert also gives a touching account of the departure for Rome during this pontificate of the aged Abbot Coelfrid, who for twenty-eight years had presided over the English monastery at Wearmouth. The Abbot did not reach the Holy City, for he died at Langres on the way thither. (*Vide* "Monks of the West," vol. iv, pp. 464-468.)

In 717 Leo III, the Isaurian, who had risen from the ranks of the people to be general of the imperial army, usurped the imperial throne. He was the first to check the alarming advances of the Mohammedans, who at the beginning of his reign began a second siege of Constantinople, which lasted for thirteen months (717-718). With the help of an army of Bulgarians Leo at length forced the besiegers to retreat with severe loss.

About the year 726 the Emperor Leo issued the first of his famous edicts, in which he declared the adoration of images by genuflexions or prostrations to be illegal. This marks the beginning of the great iconoclastic conflict which was to continue for over a century, and which was ultimately one of the causes which led to the revolt of Italy from the Eastern Empire. Although it would appear that Leo was moved to issue this edict by a genuine horror of idolatry, the measures he took to effect a reformation were unwise and doomed to failure. His first edict was received with a storm of opposition, and a second one issued about the year 730, in which he ordered the destruction of all images, and the whitewashing of the walls of churches, caused a general revolt. Led by a band of monks and women, the people of Constantinople rose in rebellion, and beat to death an imperial officer who had been found engaged, according to instructions, in destroying an image of Christ which stood over a gateway of the imperial palace. Similar revolts took place in the provinces, and on the publication of the edict in Ravenna scenes of disorder and bloodshed ensued.

Liutprand, King of the Lombards, taking advantage of these dissensions, marched with a large force to Ravenna, and by

persuading the inhabitants that he was an ardent venerator of images, induced them to surrender the city to him. Although some writers have accused Pope Gregory II of fanning the revolt, there is no evidence that this was the case. At his entreaty the Venetians hastened to the help of the exarch, and Ravenna was retaken from the Lombards. Shortly after this the exarch Scholasticus was accused of intriguing with the Pope, and was superseded by a new exarch named Paul. It was rumoured that Paul was about to proceed to Rome to seize the Pope, and there were risings in Gregory's defence in many parts of Italy.

Exhilaratus, Duke of Naples, who was accused of plotting against the Pope's life, was torn in pieces by a mob, and the exarch Paul, while making attempts to enforce the imperial edict, was slain. One more exarch, the last, named Eutychius, was then despatched to Italy, and landing at Naples, attempted to win over the Lombards to his side. In this he succeeded by promising to help the Lombard King Liutprand against the two independent Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento. Having gained possession of Spoleto, Liutprand proceeded to besiege Rome. Like his famous predecessor the first Gregory, Pope Gregory II went to the enemy's camp to confer with the Lombard king. He was received with the utmost deference. The King is said to have cast himself at the Pope's feet, and divesting himself of his crown, silver cross, and mantle, offered them on the tomb of St. Peter. Liutprand then brought about a reconciliation between the Pope and the exarch, and when shortly afterwards another emperor was proclaimed by the people of Tuscany, the exarch, with the help of the Romans, seized the usurper and sent his head to Constantinople. After this it appears that the exarch withdrew to Ravenna, and active measures for the suppression of image-worship were probably suspended for a time.

Two letters are extant written by Pope Gregory II to the Emperor Leo condemning him in the boldest and most contemptuous tone for his iconoclasm. Although the authenticity of these letters has been doubted, the majority of historians look on them as genuine. In the first and longer of the two epistles the Pope enters at great length into the question of the Mosaic interdiction of idolatry, and states that the prohibition extended only to images of animals and other creatures, set apart by the heathen for worship, and not to sacred images, as is proved by examples of the Ark of the Covenant, the

cherubim, etc. He also shows that images and pictures are often of great efficacy in converting the heathen. In the course of his argument Gregory II puts a most extraordinary interpretation on certain parts of Old and New Testament history. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 253.)

In November 730 Gregory is said to have assembled a Council in Rome, when anathemas were pronounced against the Iconoclasts, and therefore by implication at least against the Emperor Leo. The Emperor retaliated by confiscating large portions of the papal territory in Sicily and Calabria.

A few months later, in February 731, Gregory II died, and was buried in St. Peter's. His pontificate marks an epoch of the progress of the temporal power of the Roman see. The natural result of the diminution of the imperial authority in Italy was to increase that of the Pope, to whom the Italians learned to look not only as their spiritual head, but as their mediator with the barbarians, and as their leader in a league for self-defence.

XCI. GREGORY III, A.D. 731-741

Emperor: LEO III the Isaurian, 717-741

GREGORY, the third pontiff of that name, a Syrian, the son of John, was consecrated on 18th March 731. It is recorded that the people, moved by the Holy Ghost, seized him as he was assisting at the obsequies of his predecessor and placed him by force on the pontifical throne. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 257.) Gregory III was the last pope whose consecration had to await the sanction of the exarch of Ravenna.

Soon after his elevation Gregory III addressed a letter to the Emperor announcing his intention of opposing the Iconoclasts. (*Vide* Gregory II.) This letter, however, never reached the Emperor, owing to the timidity of the messenger who feared to deliver it.

In 732 Gregory presided over a Roman synod at which decrees were passed anathematizing all profaners of images, and it was resolved to make a new attempt to convert the iconoclastic Emperor. The attempts, however, ended in failure, the papal emissaries being arrested and imprisoned.

A fleet sent to Italy by the Emperor for the purpose of

reducing his rebellious subjects by force was wrecked in the Adriatic. The power of the exarch was now virtually at an end, though he remained for nearly twenty years longer in Ravenna. Ultimately he fled from thence to Naples.

Meantime Gregory III proceeded to restore the veneration of images in a more magnificent style than had been hitherto known. He is said to have spent 73 pounds of gold and 376 of silver in the purchase of images and pictures for the Roman churches. At a Roman synod assembled by Gregory a special colony of monks was appointed to have charge of an oratory in St. Peter's, where he had placed many relics of the saints. Fragments of marble tablets on which the acts of this synod were engraven were found and deciphered by De Rossi, the great antiquarian of the nineteenth century. (*Vide* Duchesne, "Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 422 *note*.)

Gregory had received as a gift from Eutychius, the exarch, six pillars of onyx marble. These he arranged in front of the already existing pillars in the oratory of St. Peter's, and between them placed images of our Lord, of the Blessed Virgin, and of the saints. The "Liber Pontificalis" gives a long list of other Roman Churches which Gregory III beautified. (*Vide ibid.*, pp. 417-419.)

During this pontificate the missionary Boniface continued his labours in Germany with singular success. (*Vide* Gregory II.) He had been appointed an archbishop and papal legate in Germany, and about the year 738 visited Rome for the third time, when he was received with much honour by the Pope. Four letters are extant, written by Gregory III to different persons in Germany, commending Boniface. In 735 Pope Gregory sent the pallium to Eadbert, cousin of Coelwulf, King of Northumbria, the first Archbishop of York since the days of Paulinus. (*Vide* William of Malmesbury, "English Chronicle," ed. Bohn, p. 61.) It is also recorded that Gregory sent the pallium to two Archbishops of Canterbury—Tatwine, elected in 731, and Notelin, who succeeded him in 736.

During the first eight years of this pontificate peace was maintained with the Lombards. At the end of that time fresh trouble arose through the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, who in the time of Gregory II (*q.v.*) had rebelled against the Lombard king. Some writers state that Pope Gregory had intrigued with these Dukes against Liutprand. Defeated by the latter they took refuge in Rome, under the Pope's protection.

In the spring of 741 King Liutprand invaded the Duchy of

Rome[1] at the head of a formidable force. Four important cities within the Roman territory fell into his hands, and he proceeded to lay waste the Campagna, not sparing even the churches in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. It was then that Pope Gregory III, despairing of assistance from the East, took the important step of asking aid from Charles Martel, the Frank.

In France the Merovingian line had gradually degenerated, and the king who now occupied the throne was a feeble and powerless nonentity. The real power had passed into the hands of the chief ministers or mayors of the palace, as they were then called. This office had now been held for some years by an able officer, Charles, surnamed Martel, or the Hammer, from his formidable strokes. In 732 he had won a great victory over the Saracens at Tours. To him Gregory II had at one time addressed an appeal for help against the Lombards which, however, had met with no response.

Pope Gregory III now addressed a letter to this powerful Christian potentate, begging for his help against the Lombards. With this letter he sent certain valuable gifts, including the keys of St. Peter's, and filings from what were supposed to be the Apostle's chains. Although Charles received this embassy respectfully, he seems to have remained unmoved by the Pope's appeal for help. Gregory then addressed to him a most pathetic letter, in which he declares that his tears are falling day and night for the devastation of the states of the Church, and draws a lamentable picture of the misery caused by the Lombard invasions. He states that Liutprand had made war on the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento, because they had refused to join in plundering the states of the Church. Gregory also assures Charles Martel that, though the Lombards also might seek to treat with him, they were constantly reviling him behind his back. According to some accounts this letter had no effect, and it was not until the Pope sent an embassy in the name of the Roman people offering Charles, in return for his protection, the title of Consul of Rome, that he consented to treat with Gregory. Charles Martel then sent as his ambassadors to Rome Grimon, Abbot of Corbie, and Sigebert a monk of St. Denis.

[1] The Duchy of Rome included the entire district right and left of the Tiber, Roman Tuscany, and the Campagna. The first mention of an imperial Duke of Rome occurs in 711. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," vol. i, p. 392.) After the conquest of the Western Empire by the Franks, the Roman duchy was administered by the popes.

On hearing of the arrival of this embassy, Liutprand is said to have withdrawn his army from the neighbourhood of Rome, and retired to Pavia. It seems more probable that fear of the Roman fever was his real motive for retiring. He, however, retained the four cities, which he had seized. Liutprand also sent an embassy to Charles Martel about this time, declaring that he had invaded the states of the Church only for the purpose of punishing his rebellious subjects, the Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento. This embassy is said to have been well received by the Frank.

The death of Charles Martel on 22nd October of this same year (741) and of Pope Gregory III on 27th November, prevented further treaty. Pope Gregory was buried in St. Peter's on 29th November. The "Liber Pontificalis" describes the third Gregory as a man of mild disposition, prudent, learned in the Holy Scriptures, knowing all the Psalms by heart, and well versed in the Greek and Latin languages. He was the friend of monks and nuns, a protector of widows and orphans, and a lover of poverty and the poor. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 415.)

XCII. ZACHARY, A.D. 741-752

Emperors: CONSTANTINE V (COPRONYMUS), 741-775 (ARTAVASDAS, usurper)

ZACHARY, a Greek, the son of Polychronius, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 3rd December 741. The "Liber Pontificalis" records him to have been slow to anger, and quick to forgive, returning good for evil, mild, a lover of the clergy and of all the Roman people. Judging from the part he played during his eventful pontificate Pope Zachary must have been not only an able statesman, but a prelate of unusually winning and attractive personality. One of his first acts after his consecration was to send legates with letters and a confession of orthodoxy to Constantinople, addressed to the Emperor Constantine V, the son and successor of Leo III, and to the patriarch. In his letter to the Emperor, Zachary urged him to restore the holy images to the churches in the East. (*Vide* Gregory II.)

On their arrival in Constantinople the papal legates found that the imperial throne had been usurped by Artavasdas, the orthodox brother-in-law of Constantine. As the government

appeared to be in an unstable condition, the legates prudently decided to wait the issue of events, before making overtures to the usurper. Soon their expectations were justified, for Constantine V appeared before the walls of Constantinople with an army and retook the city, overthrowing the usurper. The legates were courteously received, and Constantine granted to the Roman see as the Pope had requested, the two cities of Nympha and Normia. The difficulty of the Emperor's position at this time and his many enemies seem to have prevented his enforcing further the Iconoclastic edicts. (*Vide* Gregory II.)

In 743 a synod of forty bishops, twenty-two priests, and fifteen deacons, assembled in Rome, and twenty-two decrees respecting matters of ecclesiastical discipline were passed. Anathemas were also pronounced against those convicted of selling Christian slaves to the Jews. By order of the Pope a Council was also held in England at a place called Cloveshoe, the identity of which is uncertain, and certain reformatory decrees passed. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. ii, p. 257.)

The death of Charles Martel had left Italy at the mercy of the Lombards. (*Vide* Gregory III.) At the commencement of his pontificate Pope Zachary sent an embassy to the Lombard king, Liutprand, but the latter refused to treat with the Pope until he had promised to abandon the cause of the rebellious Duke of Spoleto. (*Vide* p. 127.) To this Zachary agreed, and received a promise that the four cities seized by the Lombards during the previous pontificate would be restored. The Duke of Spoleto was then driven from his duchy, and retired to a monastery, but Liutprand failed to keep his promise to the Pope, retaining not only the four cities, but occupying all the midland regions of Italy. Pope Zachary then decided to act as his own ambassador, and to try the effect of a personal interview with the Lombard king.

Accompanied by his attendant bishops, he set out for the Lombard camp near Terni. Liutprand, who seems to have been peculiarly susceptible to religious influences, received the Pope with every mark of respect. In the interview which followed the King promised not only to restore the four cities, but also all the estates of the church in the Sabine country, which the Lombards had held for thirty years, the towns of Narni, Osimo, Ancona, and others in the district of Sutri, to release unransomed all the Roman prisoners taken in war, and to conclude a peace of twenty years with the Duchy of Rome.

A service was held in the church of St. Valentine in Terni, when, at the King's request, Zachary consecrated a new bishop. On the following Sunday Zachary entertained the Lombard king to dinner, and so delighted him by his suavity and good humour that the King declared he had never before been entertained so well. Next day the Pope set out for Rome, and on the way took possession of the four cities restored to him by Liutprand. Entering Rome in triumph, he ordered a solemn procession of thanksgiving for the success of his mission to proceed from the church of Sta. Maria ad Martyres to St. Peter's. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol, i, p. 428.)

It soon became evident, however, that Liutprand still entertained the desire of subduing the feeble exarchate of Ravenna. In 743 he proceeded to Cesena with a formidable force, and took possession of several places in the neighbourhood of Ravenna. A message was despatched to Rome from the terrified exarch, and from John, patriarch of Ravenna, imploring the Pope to come to their aid.

Pope Zachary sent an embassy with gifts to Liutprand, urging him to desist from his hostile attitude, but this failed to move the King. The Pope then decided to set out for Ravenna with his attendants. A story relates that on their journey the prelates were protected daily from the heat of the sun by a cloud which overshadowed them, and which disappeared every evening. At Ravenna Zachary was received with great joy by the clergy and people, who came out fifty miles to meet him, crying, "Welcome to the shepherd who has left his own sheep to save us from perishing!"

Liutprand seems to have been anxious to avoid an interview with the Pope, but on hearing that it was inevitable he sent some of the Lombard nobles to meet His Holiness, and to escort him to Pavia. The first few days after his arrival were spent in religious ceremonies, and the Feast of St. Peter falling at this time (29th June), the King attended mass with his usual devotion. At length the interview took place, and Pope Zachary after much opposition succeeded in persuading the King to surrender the territory which he had seized round Ravenna, as well as the greater part of the district of Cesena. The remaining part was to remain in his hands until 1st June of the following year. Once more Pope Zachary returned triumphant to Rome, and a solemn service of thanksgiving was held for his success.

In the following January (744), King Liutprand died, and was succeeded by his nephew Hildeprand, who only reigned for seven months. Rachis, Duke of Friuli, was then raised to the Lombard throne, and shortly after his accession consented to renew the peace of twenty years with the Pope. To this the Lombard nobles objected, however, and plotted against Rachis with his brother Astulf.

Rachis was accordingly induced to break the peace he had made, and in 749 invaded the Pentapolis and invested Perugia. Once more the Pope determined to try the effect of his personal influence, and hastened to Perugia accompanied by a few of his clergy and nobles. His entreaties were so effective that Rachis readily consented to withdraw his troops. But the Pope's influence did not end there.

Moved by his holy exhortations, Rachis shortly afterwards renounced his crown and kingdom, and embraced the monastic life, his wife and daughter following his example. He retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino, while his wife and daughter entered a neighbouring convent. His brother Astulf was then chosen king in his place. Two years previous to this the able and vigorous Carloman, elder son of Charles Martel had also renounced his office and dignity, and retired into a monastery on Mount Soracte. Finding this too near Rome, he afterwards retired to Mount Cassino, where he enjoyed more profound solitude.

It appears that he was influenced to take this step by the missionary Boniface, who still continued his successful labours in Germany. (*Vide* Gregory II.) During this pontificate Boniface corresponded frequently with the Pope, whom he consulted on many points of discipline connected with the newly founded churches in Germany. Many of the letters which passed between them are extant. By the advice of the Pope, Boniface held the first national synod in Germany in 742, and it was agreed to hold synods yearly. In 751 Boniface fixed his metropolitan see at Mentz. On 4th November 751 Pope Zachary confirmed certain immunities to the monastery of Fulda, which had been granted by Carloman to Boniface. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 269.)

Pope Zachary improved the cultivation of the Campagna, and established five farms there, in which he induced families to settle. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 272.) He also practically rebuilt the Lateran Palace. While the repairs were being carried out a box was

discovered containing the head of St. George. This was conveyed with great solemnity to the church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, where it was deposited.

In 751 there arrived in Rome from Pepin the Frank, Mayor of the Palace, an embassy consisting of Burchard, Bishop of Würtzburg and Fulrad the King's chaplain. Their orders were to inquire of the Pope whether he did not consider that he who had the kingly power ought also to have the name of king. (*Vide* Gregory III.) The Pope replied that such was indeed his opinion, and he is said to have forthwith ordered by his apostolic authority that Pepin should be elected King of the Franks. It is probable that Pepin wished to have the Pope's sanction for his usurpation, but it would doubtless have been carried out even if the Pope had refused his consent.

Pepin was accordingly anointed king at Soissons, by Boniface, Archbishop of Mentz, and raised on the buckler with acclamation, according to the ancient usage of the Franks. Childeric III, the feeble Merovingian king was tonsured, and shut up in a monastery. This change of dynasty was to have important consequences in the history of the Church.

A few months later, in March 752, Pope Zachary died, and was buried in St. Peter's.

XCIII. STEPHEN II, A.D. 752

Emperor: CONSTANTINE V (COPRONYMUS), 741-775

IN March 752, Stephen, a presbyter, was chosen to succeed Pope Zachary in the Roman see, and was conducted in state to the Lateran Palace. But on arising from sleep on the third day after his election, he suddenly lost speech and consciousness, apparently from a stroke of apoplexy. On the day following he died.

As this prelate died before his consecration, his name has caused some confusion in the papal registers, most authorities holding that he has no claim to a place in the lists of popes, and accordingly reckoning his successor as Stephen II.

XCIV. STEPHEN (II) III, A.D. 752-757

Emperor: CONSTANTINE V (COPRONYMUS), 741-775

ALMOST immediately after the sudden death of his predecessor, Stephen, a Roman, the son of Constantine, was unanimously elected Pope in the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and was conducted to the Lateran Palace. His consecration took place on 26th March 752, the Roman see having been vacant for twelve days. Stephen and his younger brother Paul, who afterwards succeeded him in the Roman see, had been left orphans at an early age, had been educated in the Lateran Palace under the second and third Gregories, and by Pope Zachary had been ordained deacons together. The "Liber Pontificalis" describes Stephen as a ready helper of the poor, the friend of widows and orphans, and an earnest preacher of God's word.

Probably no period of papal history offers more difficulty to the student than that of the second half of the eighth century. The conflicting accounts of the parts played by the Roman pontiffs as given in the Roman and Frankish annals render it impossible to judge positively concerning the events related.

Three months after his election Stephen sent his brother Paul accompanied by another emissary with gifts to the Lombard king, Astulf, to urge him to maintain the treaty of peace made with Pope Zachary (*q.v.*). Astulf, pacified by the gifts promised to confirm the treaty for a period of forty years. But the peace thus made was broken three months later, when Astulf suddenly invaded the exarchate, seized Ravenna, and threatened Rome, demanding a poll-tax on each citizen. Pope Stephen despatched to the Lombard king the two venerable abbots of St. Benedict and St. Vincent, but they were treated with ignominy, and sent back to their monasteries, without being permitted to return to the Pope.

Meantime John, an ambassador from the Emperor, arrived in Rome with letters both to Astulf and to the Pope. The former was urged to cease from his hostilities in the exarchate, while the latter was requested to use his influence with the Lombard king to secure peace. But Astulf, who was a man of very different character from his predecessor Liutprand (*vide* Zachary), refused to be influenced either by the Pope or by the imperial ambassador. He, however, consented to send an

ambassador to the Emperor. John on his return to Constantinople, was the bearer of a letter from the Pope to Constantine, in which Stephen urges the Emperor to come with an army to the help of his subjects in Italy. From this letter it would appear that friendly relations had been resumed between the Emperor and the Roman see. (*Vide ante*, p. 125.) But the Emperor, harassed by the Bulgarians and Saracens, was not in a position to send help to Italy.

Pope Stephen meantime encouraged the Roman people by holding solemn processions and daily litanies. On one occasion he is said to have proceeded with bare feet, accompanied by the people with ashes on their heads, to the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, the cross, with a copy of the treaty violated by Astulf, being borne on his shoulders. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 443.)

At length, probably despairing of succour from the Emperor, Stephen sent through a pilgrim whom he could trust, a message to Pepin, King of the Franks, entreating him to come to help against the Lombards. On receiving this message Pepin sent to Rome as his ambassadors the abbot Droctegang and the Duke Auschar to escort Pope Stephen to the court of the Frank.

On their arrival they found that John, the imperial envoy had returned a second time to Rome with a letter to the Pope. In this Constantine ordered Stephen to proceed along with the imperial ambassador to the Lombard king, and to use his influence to obtain a treaty of peace.

Although the Pope was in weak health, he set out for Pavia on 14th October 753, amidst the tears and remonstrances of the Roman people. He was accompanied by the imperial and the Frankish ambassadors. Encouraged by the fair weather with which they met on their journey, they arrived in safety at the Lombard camp. The imperial ambassador presented his letters, and Pope Stephen implored Astulf to "restore the Lord's sheep to their rightful owner." But the Lombard king was not to be moved, and the embassy failed entirely in its object. On learning that the Pope intended to proceed to the court of Pepin, Astulf is said to have ground his teeth like a lion (*unde ut leo dentibus fremebat*), although he seems to have given Stephen permission to depart peacefully. On 15th November the Pope and his companions set out for France, and proceeded by rapid marches in spite of the advance of winter. The crossing of the Alps was effected

only with great difficulty, the Pope suffering much hardship and danger from the floods and ice-clad precipices. They at length reached the monastery of St. Maurice, in the valley of the Rhone. There the Pope was met by messengers sent by Pepin, to escort His Holiness to the King's palace at Pontyon, near Langres. As the cavalcade advanced they were met by the Queen Bertrada, with the young princes Charles and Carloman, and at a distance of three miles from the palace by the King himself. According to the Roman records, Pepin dismounted from his horse, prostrated himself on the earth, and afterwards walked by the side of the Pope's palfrey. The Frankish chronicles, however, represent the Pope as the suppliant, stating that he threw himself along with his clergy at the King's feet, and refused to rise until Pepin had promised with a solemn oath his aid against the Lombards. Shortly afterwards the court set out for Paris, it having been arranged that Pope Stephen would repose during the winter in the Abbey of St. Denis. There he became so seriously ill that his restoration to health was looked upon as a miracle, granted through the prayers of St. Denis, St. Peter, and St. Paul, who appeared to him in a vision. After his recovery a solemn service was held in the church of St. Denis, when Pope Stephen anointed Pepin and his two sons, Kings of the Franks, and bestowed on Pepin the title of Patrician of Rome.

Much controversy has raged round the subject of Pope Stephen's visit to Gaul. Certain writers, including Freeman, contend that the Pope went to Gaul as the imperial ambassador, and that the title of Patrician could only have been bestowed on Pepin with the authority of the reigning emperor. It seemed natural that the Emperor should charge the King of the Franks with the *rôle* of defender of Rome, which he himself could not fulfil effectively.[1] The Rev. H. K. Mann combats this view, for which he thinks there is little evidence, as it tends to minimize the authority of the Pope. Gregorovius, like Gibbon, attributes many of the acts of Pope Stephen while in Gaul to the authority given him by the Roman people, but holds that the Patrician was undoubtedly the representative of the Emperor. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 283, ff.) Gibbon states that after the loss of the exarchate the Roman senate and people successively invested Charles Martel and his posterity with

[1] *Vide* article on "The Patriciate of Pepin," by Edward A. Freeman in "English Hist. Review," vol. iv, 1889, pp. 684-713.

the title of Patrician or Protector of Rome. The Patriciate was not a mere title, but carried with it both rights and duties, though not very definitely defined. (*Cf.* Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," chap. iv.) It is probable that the unction of Pepin and his sons by Pope Stephen was performed at the urgent desire of the King, and certainly without any authority from the Emperor. Nor was the Emperor aware until much later of the oath sworn by Pepin to the Pope, that he would hand over the territory conquered from the Lombards to the Roman see. Certain French writers hold the view that Pepin was only consecrated once, namely, by Pope Stephen. The statement that he was previously consecrated during the pontificate of Zachary may have been made by those who held that he could be lawful king only by the authority of the Pope, and who therefore found themselves under the necessity of going further back than the time of Pope Stephen. Eginhard, in his life of Charlemagne, mentions only one consecration of Pepin, that by Pope Stephen. (*Cf.* "Pépin le Bref et le Pape Zacharie," par l'Abbé Guillon.)

Having assembled a council of his nobles, Pepin informed them of his intention of setting out for Italy in fulfilment of his promise to the Pope. At this juncture there arrived in France no less a personage than Carloman, elder brother of Pepin, who had retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino six years previously. (*Vide* p. 132.) Carloman had been sent by the abbot of his monastery, at the request of Astulf, to dissuade his brother from attempting an invasion of the Lombard territory. But Carloman pleaded in vain, and Pepin, after consultation with the Pope, decided to prevent the return of the monk to Italy. He was accordingly sent to a monastery in Vienne, where he soon afterwards died.

At length Pepin, with his army, set out for Italy, accompanied by the Pope. The conquest of Lombardy by the Franks was accomplished without difficulty, and Astulf was driven to seek refuge in Pavia. There, after a short siege, he was glad to sue for terms of peace.

According to the Frank annals, Pepin, out of clemency, was willing to make a treaty with the Lombards on easy terms. Astulf was to pledge himself by a solemn oath to surrender to the Pope the exarchate of Ravenna, and was to give hostages. The "Liber Pontificalis" states that Pope Stephen, anxious to avoid bloodshed, pressed Pepin to deal indulgently with the Lombards. This seems, however, to be contradicted by an extant

letter which Stephen afterwards wrote to Pepin, in which he reproaches him for having trusted to the lying promises of the Lombards in spite of the advice which he had given him.

No sooner had the French army departed from Italy, than Astulf withdrew his promise to surrender the exarchate, and advanced with his troops towards Rome, ravaging the surrounding country. Stephen despatched by Fulred, a Frankish abbot who had accompanied him from Gaul, a letter addressed to Pepin, in which he urges him to return to Italy and complete his work of conquest, reminding him of his danger in the day of judgement should his promise remain unfulfilled. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. 275-276.)

On 1st January 756, Astulf laid siege to Rome. Pope Stephen then despatched to Pepin a second letter by a messenger who was obliged to travel by sea, the way by land being closed by the besiegers. In this he states that Astulf had robbed the churches, defiled the altars, slain the priests, and had threatened to batter down the walls of Rome if the Pope were not delivered into his hands. He had also dug up many bodies of the saints, which he coveted as relics, and had carried them away. The Pope represents himself as falling at Pepin's feet, and conjuring him with tears in the name of God, His Holy Mother, and the Blessed Apostles, to come to the rescue of the Apostolic see.

This letter was followed by an extraordinary epistle written by the Pope, who assumes in it the authority of St. Peter himself. The Apostle, joined by the Mother of God, adjures and commands Pepin to save the beloved city of Rome from the detested Lombards. In return for this St. Peter promises Pepin the sure reward of the most glorious mansions in heaven, and the everlasting joys of Paradise. He warns him that should he yield up the city to the Lombards, his soul will be lacerated and tormented for ever in hell by the devil and his pestilential angels.

But so much impassioned eloquence on the part of the Pope seems to have been unnecessary, for King Pepin no sooner heard that Astulf had broken his treaty than he set out with his army a second time to Italy. Again the victory of the Franks was rapid and complete. Astulf was forced to make much more humiliating terms than before, and representatives of Pepin remained in Italy to enforce the carrying out of the treaty.

Meantime an imperial embassy arrived in Italy to request

Pepin to hand over the conquered territory to the Emperor, and at the same time offering him bribes. Pepin replied that he had undertaken this expedition not for his own advantage, but for the honour of the Blessed Peter and the Roman Church, and that it was his intention to bestow the conquered territory on the Pope. The district handed over to the Pope by Pepin comprehended Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Iesi, Forlimpopoli, Forli with the Castle Sussibio, Montefeltro, Acerra, Monte di Lucano, Serra, San Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luciolo, Gubbio, Comachio, and Narni.

It is generally held that this donation did not imply the entirely independent sovereignty of the Pope in Italy. The Pope still continued to look on the Emperor as his nominal suzerain, and when the Western Empire was afterwards transferred to Charlemagne, the popes were held to owe homage to him for their territories.

Before the cession of these territories was complete Astulf was killed by a fall from his horse, leaving no heir. Desiderius, a Lombard Duke, then attempted to seize the throne, but was opposed by Rachis, brother of the late King, who had previously retired to a monastery. (*Vide* p. 132.) The Pope, on receiving a solemn oath from Desiderius that he would cede the conquered territories, agreed to support his cause, and the Duke was placed on the Lombard throne.

In 754 the Emperor Constantine V had assembled a council in Constantinople, at which the veneration of images or so-called image-worship was condemned. Although the Emperor claimed that this council was œcumenical, it was not attended by the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, or Alexandria, and was repudiated by the Pope. In 755 Boniface of Mentz ended his glorious career, martyred by the Frisians, to whom he had gone as a simple missionary after resigning his see. (*Vide* Gregory III.) Some writers declare that this wonderful missionary was one of the chief instruments in bringing about the union between Rome and the Franks.

Pope Stephen III died after an eventful pontificate of five years, and was buried in St. Peter's on 26th April, 757. He is recorded to have founded four hospitals in Rome.

XCV. PAUL I, A.D. 757-767

Emperor: CONSTANTINE V (COPRONYMUS), 741-775

IT is recorded that while Pope Stephen III lay on his death-bed, a certain faction in Rome intrigued to elect as his successor the Archdeacon Theophylact, instead of Paul, brother of Stephen, who had been destined for the papal chair. Paul remained in close attendance on his dying brother, and took no interest in the disputes. However, on the death of Stephen, Paul received the support of the nobility, clergy, and magistrates, and was duly elected, after a vacancy of one month and five days caused by the contentions.

He is described as a mild and merciful prelate, whose habit it was to visit at night the haunts of the poor and the prisons, comforting sufferers in soul and body, and sometimes securing the release of captives. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 463.) His pontificate was on the whole peaceful, although he seems to have been constantly disturbed by the prospect of danger to the states of the Church from the Emperor, who desired to recover what he had lost, and from the Lombards.

Desiderius, the Lombard king, still retained possession of some of the towns which, by treaty with Pepin, Astulf had promised to cede to Pope Stephen III (*q.v.*). The Dukes of Spoleto and Benevento had placed themselves under the protection of King Pepin, and in 758 Desiderius took up arms against them. After ravaging several cities in the exarchate, he seized and imprisoned the Duke of Spoleto, and forced the Duke of Benevento to take refuge in Otranto, while another was set up in his duchy. The Lombard king then proceeded to Naples, which was still held by the imperial officials and attempted to negotiate an alliance with the Emperor. On his way back he visited Rome and playing a double part made friendly overtures to the Pope. On Paul's demanding the cession of the cities still in his power, Desiderius replied by demanding that the hostages given by Astulf to the King of the Franks should first be restored. The Pope wrote to Pepin informing him of the proceedings of Desiderius. It was only gradually that the Lombard king, probably influenced by fear of another Frankish invasion, was induced to submit to the fulfilment of the treaty. After this more amicable relations seem for a time to have existed between the Lombards and the Roman see, and

we find the Pope writing to Pepin entreating him to urge Desiderius to unite with him against the Emperor. The determination of the Emperor to recover his rights in Italy, and to abolish so-called image worship, or veneration of images, caused considerable apprehension to Pope Paul at this time.

Many adulatory letters from Paul to King Pepin are preserved in the Codex Carolinus. He repeatedly expresses his deep obligations to the Franks, his anxiety being evidently very great to maintain friendly relations with Pepin. Along with his letters the Pope sent to Pepin at different times gifts of a sword and belt set with gems, a cloak embroidered with peacocks, three jacinth rings for himself and his sons, and an organ, an instrument supposed to have been till then unknown in France. He also sent, at the King's request, many relics of the saints, including, it is said, the bodies of the three martyrs SS. Gorgonius, Nabor, and Nazarius.

On one occasion Pepin sent the Pope a baptismal robe, which had been used at the baptism of his daughter Gisela. This was deposited with solemn ceremony in a new oratory in the mausoleum of Honorius, on the Vatican Hill, whither Paul had caused the body of St. Petronilla to be conveyed.

The "Liber Pontificalis" gives a long account of the work of Paul in beautifying and restoring many Roman churches, where he caused bones of the martyrs to be placed. He built a chapel (now destroyed) dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, on the Via Sacra, adjoining the Basilica of Constantine, and also an oratory in St. Peter's in honour of our Lady, placing there a silver image of her. There he also made himself a sepulchre. He established several monasteries for Greek monks, who had fled from the iconoclastic persecution in the East, and converted his paternal mansion into a monastery.

A letter is extant, written by Paul to Egbert, King of Northumbria, brother of Eadbert, Archbishop of York, in which the Pope censures the King for making grants of English monasteries to his nobles. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd edition, vol. i, p. 277.) This same Egbert afterwards renounced his crown and ended his days in a monastery.

Friendly embassies passed between the Frankish and imperial courts during this pontificate. The Emperor sent ambassadors to propose a marriage between his son, Leo, and Gisela, daughter of Pepin. Nothing came of this, however, for the Pope was strongly opposed to such an alliance as being dangerous to the interests of the Roman see. It is said that

Paul insisted on Pepin's receiving the imperial ambassadors in the presence of papal legates.

In June 767 Pope Paul was attacked by sudden illness, in the church of St. Paul without the Walls, where he had lingered too long in the extreme heat of summer, and died in the adjoining monastery. He was buried in that church, but three months later, the Roman citizens, chanting psalms for the dead, conveyed his body by water to St. Peter's, where it was placed in the sepulchre which he had himself prepared for it. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 465.)

XCVI. STEPHEN (III) IV, A.D. 768-772

Emperor: CONSTANTINE V (COPRONYMUS), 741-775

WHILE Pope Paul I lay on his death-bed in the monastery of St. Paul without the Walls, tumultuous scenes took place in Rome. The large estates now in the power of the Roman see rendered its possession an object to be coveted by the nobility. (*Vide* Stephen III.) Toto, Duke of Nepi, the owner of estates in Tuscany and of a palace in Rome, entered the city with his two brothers, at the head of an armed force. His brother Constantine, a layman, was hastily ordained, forced through the lower ecclesiastical grades, and elected Bishop of Rome, a few days before the death of Paul I, which took place on 28th June 767. Constantine held possession of the Roman see for fifteen months, which period is looked upon as a vacancy in the annals of the Roman Church. The antipope wrote two letters to the King of the Franks, in which he attempted to ingratiate himself with that prince, but Pepin vouchsafed no reply.

Christopher, the chief Primicerius of the Roman notaries, and his son Sergius, who held the office of treasurer of the Roman Church, at length determined to get rid of the usurper. Pretending that they desired to enter a northern monastery, they set out for Lombardy, where, with the assistance of the Duke of Spoleto, they effected an alliance with Desiderius, the Lombard king. The latter provided Lombard troops with which Sergius returned to Rome. On hearing of their approach, Duke Toto, along with another brother, named Passivus, went to the gates to oppose their entrance. An uproar took place, during which Toto was slain. Passivus fled

to the Lateran Palace to defend his brother Constantine. Along with Theodore, a bishop, the brothers took refuge in the oratory of St. Caesarius, where they remained for several hours, before they were discovered, dragged out, and thrown into prison.

In the midst of the confusion which reigned, Waldipert, a presbyter, who had accompanied Sergius from Lombardy, assembled the Lombard faction in Rome, and proceeding to the monastery of St. Vitus, on the Esquiline, brought from thence a priest named Philip, and elected him Pope. He was conducted through the streets, and installed in the Lateran Palace, where a bishop was persuaded to consecrate him, and the usual banquet was held in his honour. Meantime, on the arrival in Rome of Christopher, the Primicerius, whose return from Lombardy had been delayed, the party of Philip melted away, and the latter was easily persuaded to resign his claims and return to his monastery.

On the following day, 1st August 768, Christopher assembled the clergy and people at a place in the Roman Forum known as the Tribus Fatis, where a statue of the three Fates formerly stood. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 471.) There Stephen, a Sicilian, son of Olivus, a Benedictine monk, but apparently attached as a priest to the church of Sta. Cecilia in Trastevere, was unanimously chosen Bishop of Rome. His consecration took place a few days later, 7th August 768. Shameful vengeance was taken by his adherents on those who had favoured the antipopes; and their possessions were plundered and confiscated. Bishop Theodore was deprived of his eyes and tongue, and imprisoned in a monastery, where he was left to die of hunger and thirst. Waldipert was mutilated in the same manner, and soon afterwards died. Passivus was also deprived of his eyes, and sent to a monastery. The same fate requited his brother Constantine, after he had been led ignominiously through the streets on horseback, seated on a woman's saddle, with weights attached to his feet. Although many of these acts were attributed to the excited populace, the clergy seem not to have been exempt from some share in them.

Soon after his consecration Stephen despatched legates to Pepin to inform the Frankish king of his accession, and to invite him to send bishops from Gaul to a Roman synod shortly to be held. But when the legates arrived at the court of the Franks they found that King Pepin was dead. He had died on 24th September 768, leaving his kingdom to be

divided between his sons Charles and Carloman, who already bore the title of Patricians of Rome. (*Vide ante*, p. 137.) They readily complied with the Pope's request, and despatched twelve bishops to Rome.

In August 769 Pope Stephen presided over a Lateran synod of forty-nine bishops. The chief business of this assembly was the condemnation of Constantine the antipope, and the establishment of new regulations for future papal elections. The blind Constantine appeared before this assembly and pleaded that his offence was not unprecedented, and cited the case of certain archbishops of Ravenna and Naples, who had been promoted directly from being laymen to the episcopate. This reply enraged the clergy, and Constantine was driven from the assembly with blows. Laws were passed forbidding anyone to be elected to the Roman see who had not previously passed through the lower clerical orders, and prohibiting the laity, save by acclamation, to take part in future papal elections.

A conspiracy was soon afterwards formed under the leadership of the Lombard king, Desiderius, against Christopher and his son Sergius, who were now the most influential men in Rome. Some writers state that Pope Stephen had intrigued with Desiderius to betray Christopher and his son, who were accused of undermining the papal influence. There is, however, no clear evidence that the Pope had any share in the conspiracy, for he retired within the Vatican, and it was rumoured that he would be kept a prisoner until Christopher and Sergius were delivered up. They were accordingly seized and deprived of their eyes and tongue. Christopher died soon afterwards, but Sergius survived, a wretched captive, until the end of Stephen's pontificate.

The Frankish kings had been deeply offended by the treatment of Christopher and Sergius, and refused to make peace with Pope Stephen, whom Carloman even threatened to dethrone. But the two brothers were themselves at variance, and were only prevented from making war on each other through the influence of their mother, Bertreda.

During this pontificate Bertrada visited Italy to negotiate alliances between the royal lines of France and Lombardy. It was proposed that her daughter Gisela should marry Prince Adelchis of Lombardy, King Charles the Lombard princess Desiderata, and Carloman another daughter of the Lombard king. These proposals aroused much opposition on the part of Pope Stephen, who saw in such alliances great danger to the

papal interests in the north of Italy. Moreover, both Charles and Carloman were already married.

Pope Stephen addressed a letter to Charles and Carloman in which he stated that the devil alone could have suggested such an alliance. He reminded the princes of the beauty of the women of their own country, adjured them to be faithful to their own lawful wives, and not to seek to unite the royal house of the Franks with a despised nation and family of lepers.

In consequence probably of the Pope's letter the projected alliances of Carloman and Gisela were abandoned; but Queen Bertrada conducted Desiderata to France, where she became the wife of Charles, who divorced his former wife in order to marry her. This union only lasted about a year, after which Desiderata was also divorced, and Charles married the Swabian Hildegard. In December 771 Carloman died, leaving his brother Charles (Charlemagne) sole ruler.

Pope Stephen died in the following month, 24th January 772, and was buried in St. Peter's.

XCVII. HADRIAN I, A.D. 772-795

Emperors: CONSTANTINE V (COPRONYMUS), to 775; LEO IV, 775-780; CONSTANTINE VI and IRENE, 780-797

HADRIAN, a Roman of noble birth, the son of Theodorus, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 9th February 772. His pontificate, one of the longest in the papal annals, lasted nearly twenty-four years, so that he wanted little of "seeing the years of St. Peter."

Having been left an orphan at an early age, Hadrian was brought up by his uncle, Theodotus, a devout man. The young man's good deeds are said to have been the talk of Rome, and, on the advice of Pope Paul I, he decided to take holy orders.

It became plainly evident, shortly after Hadrian's elevation to the Roman see, that he had no intention of maintaining a policy of friendship with the Lombards. (*Vide* Stephen IV.) One of his first acts was to give orders for the execution of Paul Afiarta, the papal chamberlain, who had a second time been accused of plotting against the Pope with the Lombard king.

Gerberga, widow of Carloman, King of the Franks, had taken refuge in Lombardy with her infant sons, whose territories had

been confiscated by Charlemagne. For some time Desiderius, the Lombard king, seems to have cherished the belief that he might win Pope Hadrian over to his side, and induce him to anoint the two sons of Carloman as Kings of the Franks. Pope Hadrian, however, resisted all overtures from Desiderius, and refused to grant him an interview while he continued to hold the territories of which he had unjustly despoiled the Apostolic see.

Finding that his embassies were coldly received, Desiderius at length invaded Ravenna and the Pentapolis with an army, seized several towns in the papal territory, and prepared to advance on Rome. Pope Hadrian, on hearing of his approach, immediately caused the fortifications of the city to be strengthened, called in the aid of the militia from the surrounding territories, and despatched a legate to Charlemagne, begging him to hasten to the deliverance of Rome. On receiving the Pope's message Charlemagne is said to have sent an embassy to Desiderius, offering him a large sum of money if he would restore the papal territories which he had seized. The Lombard king refused, and Charlemagne set out for Rome with his army. Meeting with little resistance Charlemagne advanced to Pavia, to which he laid siege.

It was while the siege was still in progress that Charlemagne, accompanied by a brilliant retinue of nobles and prelates, paid his first visit to Rome, arriving on Easter Eve 774. He was received with the highest honours, the chief nobles coming to meet him at a distance of thirty miles from the city. On the steps of St. Peter's he was met by Pope Hadrian, who embraced him, and they entered the church together, while monks and clergy shouted: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." On the Wednesday after Easter, Charlemagne confirmed the donation which his father, Pepin, had made to Pope Stephen III (*q.v.*). In the deed of gift he granted the territories: "From Luna with the island of Corsica, thence to Surianum, thence to Mons Bardonis (that is Vercetum), thence to Parma, thence to Rhegium, and from there to Mantua and Mons Silicis, and moreover the whole exarchate of Ravenna, such as it was of old time, and the provinces of Venetia and Istria: moreover the whole duchies of Spoleto and Benevento." (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. i, p. 496 and note.) Judging from this account it would seem that Charles increased considerably the grant made by Pepin, making over to the Pope very nearly the whole of Italy.

While some writers hold that this account must have been falsified at a later period, Duchesne's investigation shows that it is the work of a contemporary writer. He, however, admits that the cession of these vast territories to the Pope never took effect, and thinks it probable that the Pope, finding difficulty in maintaining his authority over those he actually held, afterwards liberated Charles from the promises he had made. After his conference with the Pope, Charlemagne returned to Pavia, which opened its gates to him in June 774, Desiderius surrendering his sceptre with his capital to the conqueror. This date marks the extinction of the Lombard kingdom in Italy. Accompanied by his wife and daughter, Desiderius was permitted to retire to a monastery. The Lombards afterwards settled down as the brethren rather than the subjects of the Franks, with whom they intermarried, being originally of the same Germanic race.

From extant letters written by Hadrian to Charles, after the departure of the latter from Italy, it is evident that he had considerable difficulty in maintaining his authority even over the exarchate, where the ambitious Archbishop of Ravenna set up a rival claim. The papal authority was also disputed in several other provinces. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, pp. 295-298.) Twice subsequently to 774 Charlemagne visited Rome during this pontificate, and on his second visit quelled a rebellion of the Lombard Duke of Benevento against the papal authority.

At Constantinople, the widowed Empress Irene, who professed orthodoxy, now ruled jointly with her young son, Constantine VI. She addressed a letter to Pope Hadrian, suggesting that a general council should be summoned to condemn the Iconoclasts, and to restore the veneration of images throughout the East. At this council, which met at Nicaea in 787, and which is reckoned as the Seventh Œcumenical Council of the Church, Hadrian was represented by his legates. It was unanimously decreed by the assembled bishops that the veneration of images is agreeable to scripture, to reason, to the teaching of the Fathers, and the councils of the Church.

In 794 Charlemagne summoned, at Frankfort, an assembly which was attended by many nobles, and by a large number of bishops from all parts of Western Europe, including two legates sent by Pope Hadrian. The first business of this council was to condemn the new Adoption heresy (one of the few heresies that originated in the West), which taught that

Christ in His divinity is the actual Son of God, but in His humanity the adopted Son. This assembly also condemned the Seventh Œcumenical Council of 787. It was decreed by the assembled bishops that neither worship nor adoration is to be given to images of the saints. Pope Hadrian afterwards wrote an elaborate confutation of the so-called "Libri Carolini," in which the decrees of the Frankfort council were embodied. The controversy does not, however, seem to have caused any break in the friendship which existed between Hadrian and the King of the Franks, for when tidings of the Pope's death reached Charlemagne in the following year "he wept for him as for a much-loved son or brother."

Pope Hadrian caused a large number of workmen to be employed in restoring the walls of Rome, which work was completed in 791. He also restored the Roman aqueducts, and established additional farms in the Campagna. (*Vide* Zachary; Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. ii, pp. 390-398.) Hadrian repaired and embellished many Roman churches, including St. Peter's, of which he restored the portico and decorated the shrine, replacing the silver statues with massive gold ones.

Pope Hadrian I died on Christmas Day 795, and was buried in St. Peter's on the following day.

XCVIII. LEO III, A.D. 795-816

Emperor: CONSTANTINE VI and IRENE to 797; IRENE, 797-802.
Emperor of the West: CHARLEMAGNE, 800-814

LEO, a Roman, the son of Atyuppius and Elizabeth, began his momentous pontificate on St. Stephen's Day 795, his election having taken place with unprecedented rapidity immediately after the death of his predecessor. He had been educated in the Lateran Palace, and at the time of his seemingly unanimous elevation to the papal chair was cardinal-priest of St. Susanna, and also chief superintendent of the pontifical treasury and wardrobe.

One of his first acts was to send legates to Charlemagne to announce his election, and also to carry to the King gifts of the keys of the "Confessio"[1] of St. Peter and the banner of the city of Rome. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 307.) The Frank-

[1] The crypt which contains the Apostle's tomb.

ish king replied to this courtesy by sending his friend and chaplain, Angilbert, with a friendly letter and gifts to the new Pope. Although the first three years of Leo's pontificate were peaceful, there seems to have been a party in Rome bitterly opposed to him, the reason for their enmity being now obscure. At the head of this party were two clerics, Paschalis and Campulus, nephews of the late Pope Hadrian. These men occupied high positions in the papal household, and one of them at least seems to have entertained the ambition of ascending the pontifical throne. On the occasion of the festival of St. Mark, 25th April 799, as the Pope was riding through the streets in solemn procession, he was suddenly attacked by a band of ruffians, thrown from his horse, and, according to one account, deprived of his eyes and tongue. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 5.) He was then dragged to a neighbouring monastery, further mutilated, and left bleeding from his wounds. During the night he was conveyed to the monastery of St. Erasmus, on the Caelian Hill, where he remained for some days, until rescued by Albinus, the papal chamberlain, and conveyed to St. Peter's. Virginisus, Duke of Spoleto, then arrived with an army, and escorted him to a fortress in Umbria. Before leaving Rome Leo had recovered his sight and speech, a restoration attributed to a miracle. It has been suggested, however, that although an attempt had been made to remove his eyes and tongue, the mutilation had not actually been effected. (*Cf.* H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. ii, pp. 31-33.)

Charlemagne heard of this outrage on the Pope with the greatest indignation, and at once proposed to restore him by force to the Roman see. But before measures could be taken to effect this, tidings reached Charlemagne that the dethroned pontiff was on his way to Paderborn (one of the recently established German bishoprics), where the Frankish king was then encamped.

On his arrival at Paderborn the Pope was received with every mark of honour and affection, and remained for about two months as the guest of the King. During Leo's stay there messengers arrived from Rome charging him with forgery and immorality, but the King reserved the hearing of these charges to a future time. A reaction in the Pope's favour seems now to have taken place, for on his return to Rome he was received with great joy. A few months later, in November 800, Charlemagne, accompanied by his son Pepin, arrived in Rome. The

first business of Charles was to summon Paschalis and Campulus to prove their charges against the Pope. Having failed to do so, they were condemned to death, but their sentence, at the Pope's entreaty, was afterwards commuted to banishment in France. Pope Leo, wishing further to justify himself, summoned of his own free will a great assembly of bishops and nobles to meet in St. Peter's on 23rd December. In the presence of Charlemagne and of this assembly, the Pope, holding in his hands a copy of the four Gospels, solemnly declared that of these false charges which his unjust persecutors had brought against him he knew nothing, neither had he commanded such things to be done. When this declaration had been made all the clergy present gave thanks to God, to the Blessed Virgin, and to St. Peter. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 7.)

Two days later, on Christmas Day 800, Charles attended mass in the crowded church of St. Peter's. As the King arose from prayer Pope Leo approached him, and in the sight of all present placed on his head a golden crown, and clothed him with the purple robe of empire. Then all the faithful Romans beholding so great a champion given them, and knowing the love he bare to the Holy Roman Church and to its vicar, cried with loud and unanimous voices: "To Charles Augustus crowned by God, to the great and peace-bringing EMPEROR, life and victory!" Thus the Holy Roman Empire of the West, which lasted a thousand years, was established in Europe.

The discussion of the various theories of historians with regard to this momentous act of Pope Leo III would fill several volumes. Unfortunately, the whole of Pope Leo's letters to Charlemagne between the return of the former from Paderborn and 806 have disappeared, a circumstance which renders the whole affair obscure.

According to the account given by Charlemagne's contemporary biographer, Eginhard, the King afterwards declared that had he known the intention of the Pope he would have refused to enter the church. It seems much more probable, however, that the whole affair had been previously arranged between the Pope and Charlemagne. Some writers are inclined to think that the attack made on the Pope by Paschalis and Campulus may have been made at the instigation of Charlemagne, in order to coerce the Pope into crowning him Emperor. Hodgkin, however, supposes that the Pope, penetrating the design of Charlemagne to revive the Western Empire, resolved that he

himself should be the chief actor in the drama. He therefore, so to speak, "forced the King's hand" by crowning him Emperor before he was prepared for it. Charles, foreseeing the evil consequences that would ensue from creating such a precedent, may therefore have been quite genuine in his expressions of vexation.

But whether Charles acknowledged the right of the Pope to bestow the Empire, or in what character he performed the act, as vicegerent of God on earth, as the successor of St. Peter, or as the representative of the Roman people, are questions which agitated Europe for centuries, and which at the present day cannot be answered with any certainty. (*Vide* "Charles the Great," by Thomas Hodgkin, pp. 201-202.)

The moment chosen to revive the Empire of the West was propitious. The Empress Irene, now sole ruler at Constantinople, had caused her son Constantine VI to be deposed and blinded. Though her authority in Italy was only nominal, it was felt that the sovereignty of this profligate woman could be no longer tolerated in the West. Moreover, Charles by his conquests was already ruler of a great part of Europe.

After his departure from Rome on this occasion, Charles never again visited the Holy City. But in the year 804 Pope Leo III crossed the Alps, and spent some time with Charles at Rheims. Many pages in the "Liber Pontificalis" are devoted to the enumeration of Pope Leo's gifts, not only to Roman churches, but also to many others in the papal territories. It is said that he spent 1,764 pounds weight of gold, and 22,000 pounds of silver on the churches in Rome. He caused a memorial of the Patriciate of Charlemagne, in the form of a splendid mosaic, to be placed in the hall of the Lateran. In this the Apostle Peter was represented as a colossal figure, with the keys in his lap. On his right was Pope Leo, receiving the pallium from the Apostle's hands, and on the left King Charles receiving a banner.

In the year 809, the question of the "filioque" clause in the creed was reopened by Charles, and the clause was introduced in the churches of the Franks. Of this Pope Leo III apparently disapproved, since it is recorded that he caused two silver plates to be made and placed in the shrine of St. Peter, on one of which the creed was engraven in Greek and the other in Latin, the "filioque" clause being omitted. Father Mann explains that the Pope's intention by this was to discourage unauthorized insertions in the creed by the Franks or

others. (*Vide* "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. ii, p. 69.)

Several extant letters of Leo III are addressed to English princes and prelates. Kenulf, King of the Mercians, addressed a letter to Pope Leo concerning the action of his predecessor, Offa, who, in the time of Pope Hadrian, had removed the see of Canterbury to Lichfield. The bearer of this letter to the Pope was Athelard, Archbishop of Canterbury, that see having been restored by Kenulf. The Pope's friendly reply has been preserved in which he approves the King's action, and grants to Athelard all the jurisdiction bestowed on Augustine, the first Archbishop of Canterbury. (*Vide* William of Malmesbury's "Chronicle," i, 4, Bohn, p. 82.) Eardulf, King of Northumbria, who had been driven from his throne, sought the protection of Charlemagne, who sent him to Rome with a letter to Pope Leo. With the help of Pope and Emperor Eardulf was afterwards restored to his throne.

Misfortune overtook Pope Leo III during the last years of his reign. In 814 the great Emperor Charlemagne died, and shortly after his death a new conspiracy was formed against Pope Leo. It was, however, discovered, and the Pope caused all those concerned in it to be put to death. Rome then rose in revolt, and the Emperor Louis sent his nephew Bernard, King of Italy, to the Pope's aid. The rebellion was quelled, but broke out again as soon as Bernard left Rome. This time it was put down by an armed force under the Duke of Spoleto, and shortly afterwards the death of the Pope saved him from further outrage.

Pope Leo III died in June 816, after a pontificate of twenty years and five months, and was buried in St. Peter's.

XCIX. STEPHEN (IV) V, A.D. 816-817

Emperor of the West: LOUIS THE PIOUS, 814-840

ON 22nd June 816, Stephen, a Roman, son of Julius Marinus, was consecrated Bishop of Rome in the church of St. Peter. Descended from a noble family, Stephen had been brought up at the Vatican under Hadrian I, and Leo III, and by the latter had been made a Cardinal-deacon. It is recorded that he had a high reputation for goodness and clemency and was extraordinarily humble.

Almost immediately after his consecration, Stephen ordered all the Roman people to take an oath of fidelity to Louis the Pious, who had succeeded his father Charlemagne in 814. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 316.) Stephen is also said to have despatched envoys to Louis excusing the fact that, owing to the popular tumults, he had been consecrated Pope without waiting for the imperial sanction. According to one account the disturbed state of Rome, and the intrigues of his enemies obliged Pope Stephen to leave the city and to throw himself on the protection of the Emperor Louis. It is just as probable, however, that Louis the Pious desiring to receive papal consecration invited the Pope to come to France to bestow it. Pope Stephen set out from Rome in August 816, escorted by Bernard, King of Italy, who was acting under orders from his uncle Louis. (*Vide* Leo III.) The "Liber Pontificalis" states that the reception given to the Pope was so honourable that scarce a tongue is able to record it (*quanta vix lingua narrare potest*).

Filled with joy on hearing of the approach of His Holiness, Louis despatched an embassy of clergy to meet him. At a distance of one mile from Rheims the Emperor himself met the Pope, and thrice prostrated himself to the earth in honour of the successor of St. Peter and the Apostles, saluting him with the words, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." "Blessed be the Lord our God, who hath given me to see with mine eyes a second King David," replied the Pope. They then proceeded with a great escort of nobles and clergy to the church of St. Remi, outside the city, where a "Te Deum" was sung.

On the following Sunday, before mass, Pope Stephen in the presence of the assembled clergy and people solemnly anointed and consecrated Louis Emperor, placing on his head a richly jewelled, golden crown, which he had brought with him, and which is said to have belonged to Constantine the Great. He also crowned Queen Hermingard, saluting her with the title of Augusta. After the coronation, Louis granted certain privileges to the Roman see, and also bestowed on the Roman Church an estate out of his own property.

In October 816 Pope Stephen, loaded with gifts, set out for Rome on his return journey. He brought back with him certain exiles, who for crimes against the Roman Church had been banished to France. On the way home he visited Ravenna, where he was received by the Archbishop with every token of submission.

Stephen reached Rome in December 816, but a month later was taken ill and died on 24th January 817, after a pontificate of a little over seven months.

C. PASCAL I, A.D. 817-824

Emperor of the West: LOUIS THE PIOUS, 814-840

THE Roman people, impatient of delay, are said to have elected a successor to Stephen IV, without referring the matter to the Emperor Louis. Their choice fell on Pascal, a Roman, the son of Bonosus, at that time Abbot of St. Stephen's, near St. Peter's. He is said to have been brought straight from his monastery to the Vatican, and was compelled to receive immediate consecration on 25th January 817.

Pascal prudently despatched Theodore, a legate to the Emperor, to announce his promotion, and to excuse the action of the Roman people in electing him with undue haste. Theodore was received with much honour at the Frankish court, and, according to one account, Louis not only confirmed the donations of his father and grandfather to the Roman see, but also added to these the islands of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily. It is certain, however, that Sicily was held by the Eastern Emperor until the year 827, when it was taken by the Saracens.

During the first years of his pontificate, Pascal I was active in restoring and beautifying the churches in Rome with many costly ornaments. The "Liber Pontificalis" (ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, pp. 53-59), gives a long and detailed list of his benefactions. He restored the churches of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, St. Praxedes on the Esquiline, and Sta Maria in Domnica. In each of these he caused mosaic portraits of himself to be placed. These, restored at a later period, represented Pascal as a tall figure with large eyes, a long, beardless face, and tonsured. Pope Pascal also established a large monastery for Greek monks in Rome.

In 823 Lothair, eldest son of the Emperor Louis arrived in Rome, and on Easter Day was crowned King of Italy by the Pope with great solemnity in St. Peter's. Before leaving Italy Lothair succeeded in restoring order in Rome, where there had been much disquiet owing to the intrigues of opposite parties.

Almost immediately after the return of the prince to the

Frankish court, messengers followed him with the news that two important officials of the Roman church, Theodore the Primicerius, and Leo the Nomenclator, who were attached to the imperial interests had been blinded, and afterwards put to death by the Pope's orders. Louis at once despatched two imperial commissioners to investigate the affair.

Meantime legates arrived from Pope Pascal, charged to inform the Emperor that His Holiness was quite innocent of causing the death of these men. The reports received by the imperial commissioners on their arrival in Rome were so contradictory that they found it impossible to arrive at the truth. In the presence of the commissioners and of thirty-four bishops, Pope Pascal took a solemn oath of compurgation that he was innocent of the murder. He, however, refused to deliver up the murderers, declaring that they were the servants of St. Peter. Legates were then sent to the Emperor, informing him of the steps taken, and, being at a loss how to discover the truth, Louis forbade all further enquiries with regard to the matter. Meantime a fire broke out in the English quarter in Rome, and destroyed all that part of the city, and also the colonnade of St. Peter's. Pope Pascal hastened barefooted to the scene of conflagration, and is said to have extinguished the flames by means of his prayers. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 54.) He afterwards caused the atrium of St. Peter's which had been destroyed by the fire to be restored.

On the return of the legates from the Frankish court, they found the Pope seriously ill, and he died a few days later, on 10th February 824. The Romans, still believing him guilty of the murder with which he had been charged, refused to allow him to be buried with the usual ceremonies in St. Peter's. After a delay of four days his successor caused the body of the deceased Pope to be laid to rest "in the place which he had built for it in his lifetime." Duchesne believes this place to have been one of the two chapels built by Pope Pascal in St. Peter's. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 68, *note.*)

CI. EUGENIUS II, A.D. 824-827

Emperor of the West: LOUIS THE PIOUS, 814-840

ON the death of Pascal I, the clergy and commons, opposed to the nobles, attempted to place a candidate of their own in the papal chair. But the nobles backed by the Frankish party prevailed, and in June 824, Eugenius, a presbyter of St. Sabina, said to have been the son of Boemund, a Roman, was consecrated Bishop of Rome.

Shortly after the consecration of the new Pope, the Emperor Louis sent his son Lothair to Rome for the second time to restore order. (*Vide* Pascal I.) Lothair caused a constitution to be drawn up, and posted in the Vatican, regulating in nine articles the political relations between the Pope, the Emperor, and the Roman people. In these the imperial authority was resolutely asserted in opposition to the power of the nobles. It was decreed that in future only Romans of approved title should have a vote in the papal elections. No Pope was to be consecrated until his election had been confirmed by the Emperor of the West. The constitution acknowledged the judicial authority of the Pope before whom all complaints were in the first instance to be brought, while supremacy, ultimate appeal, and the supervision of all temporal affairs was to belong to the Emperor. The papal exchequer was compelled to surrender all property unjustly acquired, and the unjust extortioners were banished to France. Annual reports were to be made both to the Pope and the Emperor on the administration of justice, and all independent inhabitants of the Duchy of Rome were to declare whether they chose to live under Roman, Lombard or Frankish law. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 57 and ff.).

In 825 an ecclesiastical council was held in Paris, chiefly for the purpose of dealing with the question of the veneration of images (*vide* pp. 124, 147), and was attended by many bishops from France and Germany. While forbidding the worship of images, the assembled bishops approved of their use in churches, and condemned their destruction. They also accepted the "Libri Carolini" of Charlemagne, but denounced the confutation of the same, written by Pope Hadrian I (*q.v.*).

The decrees of this council were accepted and approved by

the Emperor Louis. It is not known what action was taken by Pope Eugenius with regard to them.

In 826 Eugenius II assembled a council in Rome, which was attended by sixty-two bishops, seventeen priests, and some deacons, all from the Italian provinces, subject to the Emperor Louis. Thirty-eight canons of discipline were passed. The thirty-fourth of these decreed that ignorant clerics were to be suspended from office until they had acquired sufficient learning for the administration of their sacred duties.

It is recorded that Eugenius restored and beautified the church of St. Sabina where he had been presbyter, placing there mosaics and metal work which remained until the sixteenth century. In 826 the Pope was seized with serious illness, which caused him to appear comatose for a long time. He died in August 827, and is believed to have been buried in St. Peter's.

CII. VALENTINE, A.D. 827

Emperor of the West: LOUIS THE PIOUS, 814-840

SHORTLY after the death of Eugenius II, Valentine, a Roman, the son of Leontius, was elected Bishop of Rome by the unanimous choice of the Roman nobles, clergy and people. He came of a noble family celebrated for its piety, and had been carefully instructed both in sacred and profane learning. Having attracted the notice of Pope Pascal I, he was by him attached to the Lateran Palace, and afterwards made Archdeacon of the Roman Church.

It is recorded that when messengers came to announce to Valentine his election to the papal chair he was found at prayer in the Church of St. Maria Maggiore. In spite of his earnest protestations that he was unworthy of so high an office, he was duly consecrated, though the exact date of his consecration is uncertain.

After a pontificate of a little over one month Pope Valentine, "by a precious death passed to meet his Lord." (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 72.)

CIII. GREGORY IV, A.D. 827-844

Emperors: LOUIS THE PIOUS, 814-840; LOTHAIR I, 840-855

IN October 827 Gregory, a Roman, the son of John, was elected Bishop of Rome chiefly through the influence of the Roman nobility. His consecration seems to have been delayed for some months, while waiting for the assent of the Emperor Louis.

Previous to his election to the papal chair, Gregory IV had been Cardinal of the church of St. Mark, which he afterwards completely rebuilt, and adorned with a large mosaic, in which he is represented as being presented to our Lord by St. Mark the Evangelist, to whom he offers the church. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 81.)

The "Liber Pontificalis" gives a detailed account of his buildings and benefactions to the Roman churches. He repaired the Roman aqueducts, and established new colonies in the Campagna. (*Vide ante*, p. 132.) He rebuilt and fortified the ancient city of Ostia, and built there a villa for himself. Another papal villa was also built by him at Draco, on the left bank of the Tiber, about eleven miles from Rome.

Unfortunately Pope Gregory IV became involved in the disputes which arose between the Emperor Louis and his sons, and which ultimately ended in the disintegration and overthrow of the Carlovingian Empire. In 817 Lothair, eldest son of the Emperor Louis, had been nominated his successor in the Empire and King of Italy. To the Emperor's younger sons, Pepin and Louis, Aquitaine and Bavaria were respectively assigned. On the death of the Empress Hermingard in 819, Louis desired to enter a monastery, but was dissuaded by the nobles from taking this step, and afterwards married Judith of Bavaria.

In 823 Judith gave birth to a son, who is known in history as Charles the Bald. A few years later, in 829, Louis made a new partition of the Empire, assigning a part to Charles, who was created Duke of Germany. This roused the indignation of the Emperor's elder sons, and especially of Lothair, King of Italy. Rising in arms they seized and deposed their father, and having accused Judith of certain crimes, forced her to take the veil in the monastery of St. Mary of Laon. Shortly afterwards, the brothers quarrelled among themselves, and, at a Diet held

at Nimeguen, there was a reaction in favour of Louis. He was restored to his imperial dignity, and Judith, brought from her convent, was publicly released from her vows.

The Emperor is said to have erred on the side of leniency, by pardoning his sons and the other conspirators. Under the influence of Judith he now continued the policy of advancing the interests of his youngest son, and consequently the elder sons again took up arms. The rival armies encamped in Alsace, and on 24th June 833 faced each other at a place called Rothfield, near Colmar, afterwards known as the "Field of Lies."

Pope Gregory IV, hoping, as is supposed, to bring about a reconciliation between the Emperor and his sons, had been induced by Lothair to cross the Alps, and accompany him to the field of battle. Lothair is said to have boasted that he had now the Pope on his side against Louis. This caused the Frankish bishops and Louis himself to distrust Pope Gregory, and his attempts at reconciliation were coldly received, the bishops threatening to excommunicate him if he had come to excommunicate them. The army of Louis deserted him on the field, and along with his wife and youngest son, he was taken prisoner by Lothair. Pope Gregory then returned to Rome, deeply depressed on account of having accomplished nothing by his efforts to reconcile the princes.

The Emperor Louis was forced to do public penance in a church in Soissons. He appeared in plain black garments, his sword and imperial robes having been taken from him, and laid on the altar. He confessed himself to have been guilty of sacrilege, homicide, of sins against God, of undue severity against the partizans of his son, and of having brought the Empire of which he was guardian into a state of total ruin.

This humiliation of the Emperor caused another reaction in his favour among the nobles and people, and he was shortly afterwards reinstated in his imperial dignity, with the consent of the Frankish bishops. But the remaining years of his life were disturbed by the continued quarrels of his sons, and he is said to have entered into communication with Pope Gregory with a view to entering a monastery in Rome. Gregory also sent legates to France, but they were expelled by Lothair, and it was only in secret that letters could be conveyed to the Emperor. The unhappy Louis died in 840, and the imperial sceptre passed to Lothair. In the following year Lothair's brothers, whom he had attempted to treat as his vassals, took

up arms against him, and he was completely defeated at Fontenoy near Auxerre.

In 843 a new partition of the Empire was made. Pepin, to whom Aquitaine had been previously assigned, was now dead. By the Treaty of Verdun the Frankish kingdoms east of the Rhine were assigned to Louis; Charles the Bald received the greater part of what is now modern France; while Italy, Aachen, the Netherlands, Burgundy, and Provence, remained to Lothair as Emperor.

It is recorded that Pope Gregory sent the pallium to the Archbishops of Salzburg, Canterbury and Grado, and that he warmly supported Aldric, Bishop of Le Mans, who had got into difficulty through his loyalty to the Emperor Louis. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 326.)

Pope Gregory IV died in January 844, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CIV. SERGIUS II, A.D. 844-847

Emperor: LOTHAIR I, 840-855

SHORTLY after the death of Pope Gregory IV, a mob composed of the lower classes of the people broke into the Lateran Palace, and installed there a candidate of their own for the papal chair named "John the deacon." Meantime the nobles and clergy, having assembled in great force, proceeded with a body of horse to the church of SS. Martin and Sylvester (now S. Martino ai Monti), and brought from there the Archpresbyter Sergius, whom they elected Bishop of Rome.

The chosen Pope was a Roman by birth, the son of Sergius, and belonged to the same noble family as Pope Stephen (IV) V. He had lost his father at an early age, and had been trained by his mother with the greatest care. After her death his noble character and mien won the approval of Pope Leo III, who placed him in the Schola Cantorum, and under succeeding popes his promotion was rapid. The followers of John, filled with terror on hearing of the approach of the nobles, melted away, and left him to his fate. He would probably have been torn in pieces had Sergius not interposed on his behalf, and permitted him to retire to a monastery.

Sergius was duly consecrated in St. Peter's in January 844, without waiting for the assent of the Emperor. Roused to indignation on hearing of this defiance of the decrees of the

Constitution of 824 (*vide* Eugenius II), the Emperor Lothair despatched his son Louis, and Drago, Bishop of Metz, a son of Charlemagne, with an army to punish the Pope.

As the Frankish army advanced plundering through the papal territories, they were overtaken by a violent thunder-storm which killed some of the followers of Drago. The Pope prudently decided to receive Louis with imperial honours, and a procession of the civil magistrates and children carrying banners and crosses were sent to meet him at a distance of nine miles from the city. Louis, thus propitiated, consented to enter Rome without his army, which encamped outside the walls.

On Sunday 8th June 844, the Pope received Louis on the steps of St. Peter's, but refused to permit the church doors to be opened until Louis had assured him of his pacific intentions. Louis declared that he had no evil designs. The doors were then opened, and the whole procession entered, the choir singing "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

On the following Sunday, Pope Sergius solemnly crowned Louis King of Lombardy. It is recorded that either before or after the coronation a violent dispute took place between the Pope and the Romans on the one hand, and Drago of Metz, supported by a number of northern prelates, on the other. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 89.) It is supposed that this dispute had reference to the papal claims as opposed to the imperial.

While the Franks were still in Rome, Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who had supported Louis the Pious, appealed to the Pope, begging to be restored to his see. This was refused, and in 845 the famous Hincmar was appointed to the Archbishopric of Rheims. Before the departure of the Franks, Pope Sergius appointed Drago of Metz his papal legate in France and Germany. The Pope also wrote to the Transalpine bishops, announcing the appointment of Drago, and commanding them to obey him as they would the Pope himself. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 328.) Drago, however, resigned this dignity shortly afterwards, owing to the animosity of the bishops in the kingdom of Charles the Bald.

According to one account Pope Sergius was a martyr to gout, and having lost the use of his hands and feet, left all ecclesiastical and civil affairs to his brother Benedict. This Benedict was a violent and avaricious man, who wasted the revenues of church and state, and was despised by the Franks. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 97.) Bene-

dict made light of alarming news which had reached Rome concerning the approach of a Saracen fleet with 11,000 soldiers on board, and consequently no adequate measures were taken to defend the city.

On 23rd August 846 the Saracen fleet anchored near the mouth of the Tiber, and the plundering army advanced on Rome. They pillaged the whole neighbourhood of the city, not sparing even the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, both of which were outside the walls. From St. Peter's the Saracens are said to have removed three tons of gold, and thirty of silver. They tore the silver plates from the walls, the gold from the floor of the shrine, and carried away even the high altar. According to one account they violated the tomb of St. Peter, breaking open the great bronze coffin, and scattering its contents. The Rev. H. K. Mann states, however, that there is no historical evidence that the bodies of the Apostles were removed or destroyed. (*Vide* "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. ii, p. 252.) Rome itself seems to have been spared, the Saracens retiring, according to one account, on hearing of the approach of a Frankish army.

Pope Sergius II died suddenly on 24th January 847, and was buried in the plundered church of St. Peter, the destruction of which is believed to have hastened his death.

A long account is given in the "Liber Pontificalis" of the benefactions of Pope Sergius to the Roman churches. He repaired the aqueducts of the Lateran Palace, and also restored the Schola Cantorum, which had almost fallen into ruins.

CV. LEO IV, A.D. 847-855

Emperor: LOTHAIR I, 840-855

LEO, a Roman, the son of Radwald, was, according to some accounts, elected and consecrated to the Roman see immediately after the death of his predecessor in January 847, the danger from the Saracens rendering the immediate election of a new pope imperative. According to another account his consecration did not take place until 10th April, and even then without the imperial confirmation. Leo IV had been educated in the monastery of St. Martin in Rome, had been made a sub-deacon by Gregory IV, and created Cardinal-priest of the Church of the Quattro Coronati by Pope Ser-

gius II. He is described as a generous prelate, holy, kind, a lover of justice, filled with wisdom, but humble withal.

In 849 another Saracen fleet, which is believed to have sailed from Sardinia, again menaced the city. (*Vide* Sergius II.) It was, however, defeated by the allied fleets of Rome, Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta, and a tempest completed its destruction.

Pope Leo, with the permission of the Emperor Lothair, who supplied funds for the purpose, caused the Vatican Hill and St. Peter's to be encircled by a fortified wall, thus forming a new suburb called in his honour the Leonine City. The work took four years and was completed in 852, when the fortifications were blessed by the Pope, with great solemnity. He also caused Portus to be rebuilt, and established there a colony of Corsicans who had been driven from their homes by the Saracens. Pope Leo also partly restored St. Peter's which had been plundered by the Saracens (*vide* Sergius II), but the church is said to have never again attained to its former magnificence. He further caused to be renovated the Monastery of St. Martin, and the Church of the Quattro Coronati, of which he had been Cardinal-priest, and also the Anglo-Saxon quarter of the city, which had a second time been damaged by fire. (*Vide* Pascal I.)

In 850 Lothair, desiring to associate his son Louis with him in the Empire, sent him to Rome, where he was consecrated, and received the imperial crown at the hands of Pope Leo.

On 8th December 853, a council of sixty-seven bishops, of whom four were sent by Lothair, assembled in Rome for the purpose of making certain disciplinary and educational reforms. At this synod Cardinal Anastasius, formerly Librarian of the Roman Church, was condemned for intriguing against the authority of the Pope.

It was during this pontificate that the young Prince Alfred of England, then only five years old, was sent to Rome by his father Ethelwulf to receive the papal blessing. (*Vide* "A.S. Chronicle.")

In the last year of his pontificate, Leo IV was accused by Daniel, the Magister Militum, of intriguing with the Greeks against the Frankish emperor. Louis hastened to Rome, where he arrived without having notified his approach, but was honourably received by the Pope. An imperial tribunal then proceeded to investigate the matter with the result that Daniel, unable to

prove his accusations, was condemned. Louis, however, obtained his pardon.[1]

Pope Leo IV died a few days after the trial on 17th July 855.

For several centuries it was believed that after the death of Leo IV, the pontifical throne was for two years actually occupied by a woman, disguised as a prelate. This mythical female is known in legend as Pope Joan. All credible authorities now agree that the story is absurd. (*Cf.* J. Döllinger, "Fables Respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages," Eng. trans., pp. 3-36.)

CVI. BENEDICT III, A.D. 855-858

Emperor: LOTHAIR I to 855
Emperor (in Italy): LOUIS II, 850-875

ON 17th July 855, Benedict, a Roman, the son of Peter, was chosen Bishop of Rome by the clergy and people. At the time of his elevation he was presbyter of the church of St. Calixtus. It is recorded that the messengers bringing him news of his promotion found him at prayer, and he vainly implored to be released from undertaking so great a burden.

Legates were at once despatched to the court of Lothair and Louis, requesting the imperial sanction to the new election, but on the way they were won over by friends of Cardinal Anastasius, who in the previous pontificate had been condemned by a council. (*Vide* Leo IV.) A conspiracy was now set on foot for placing Anastasius on the papal throne. Envoys sent by the Emperor to investigate the matter seem to have been persuaded to support Anastasius, who entered the Leonine city, destroyed certain images placed there by Leo IX, and perpetrated other acts of violence.

Escorted by a large force, Anastasius then advanced through Rome, entered the Lateran Palace, and caused Benedict to be stripped of his pontifical robes, cruelly treated and imprisoned. No prelate could, however, be persuaded to consecrate Anastasius, and the imperial envoys at length gave way to the general feeling. Benedict was released and duly consecrated on 29th September 855. On the very day of his consecration

[1] According to some authorities the Pope was not judged before the imperial tribunal, the real purpose of Louis II in coming to Rome at this time being unknown.

Lothair, who had been long afflicted with sickness, died, leaving the imperial title to Louis.

In the first year of Benedict's pontificate Ethelwulf of England arrived in Rome, bringing with him his youngest son Alfred, who had previously visited the Pope. (*Vide* Leo IV.) Ethelwulf remained in Rome a year, during which period he caused the Schola Anglorum to be restored, and made a grant of money to the Roman see. On his way home he passed through France, and married, as his second wife, Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald.

It is recorded that Michael, the Eastern Emperor, on hearing of the elevation of Benedict III, sent him, by a monk named Lazarus, a book of the Gospels bound in gold and jewelled, and also a golden jewelled chalice. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 147.)

Benedict continued the work of his predecessor in repairing the damage done by the Saracens in 846. (*Vide* Leo IV.) He also enriched many Roman churches with costly offerings. A letter is extant written by Benedict to Hincmar of Rheims, in which he confirms the acts of a council held at Soissons during the previous pontificate, and which Leo IV had refused to confirm. Another letter of Benedict is addressed to the Bishops of the Kingdom of Charles the Bald, and concerns a sub-deacon named Hubert, who is summoned to Rome to answer for certain crimes with which he had been charged. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 340.)

Pope Benedict III died on 7th April 858, and was buried near the principal gate of St. Peter's.

CVII. NICHOLAS I (THE GREAT), A.D. 858-867

Emperor: LOUIS II, 855-875

THE prelate who ascended the pontifical throne on the death of Benedict III, and who was to be afterwards known to history as Nicholas the Great was, without doubt, the ablest and most illustrious of the popes of the ninth century.

The Emperor Louis II, who for some unknown reason had visited Rome at this time, had just set out on his homeward journey, when news followed him of the death of Benedict III. He at once returned to the city, and by his influence induced the Romans to choose the deacon Nicholas, a Roman of noble family, son of the Regionary Theodore. Nicholas was conse-

crated in St. Peter's on 24th April 858, and the Emperor, who remained in Rome in order to be present at the ceremony, left on the following day.

Louis halted at St. Leucius, near the Tor di Quinto, so called from its being about five miles from Rome. There he again received the Pope, leading his horse some distance by the bridle—an act of homage which afterwards came to be expected by the popes, and which led to much strife at a later period. Nicholas was also entertained by Louis in his tent, and returned to Rome loaded with gifts. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 152.)

In the first year of his pontificate, Nicholas journeyed to Ravenna to deal with the case of John, the Archbishop of that see, who had resisted the papal authority. Having forced the rebellious prelate to submit to him, the Pope reasserted his authority over the regions of the Aemelia and the Pentapolis.

In the year 860 Lothair II, King of Lorraine, second son of the Emperor Lothair, divorced his lawful wife, Theutberga, a princess of Burgundy, and soon afterwards married Waldrada, his concubine. Nicholas, on hearing of this, sent a message to Lothair, threatening to excommunicate him if he did not at once dismiss Waldrada and restore Theutberga to her rights. Lothair obeyed, but afterwards treated Theutberga with such cruelty that to obtain a separation she was induced to confess publicly to certain false charges. The Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, assembled with six other bishops, pronounced the marriage null, and proclaimed Waldrada the lawful queen.

Pope Nicholas condemned the guilt of Lothair in the strongest terms, and also excommunicated the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves with their supporters. The bishops induced the Emperor Louis to proceed with an army to Rome in order to reduce the Pope to submission by force. Nicholas, however, refused to give way, and Louis, stricken by fear, was obliged to withdraw his troops, having humbly promised to submit to the wishes of the Pope.

Although Theutberga was reinstated, Lothair continued to treat her cruelly, and she implored the Pope's permission to retire to a monastery. Nicholas summoned Lothair to be judged before him in Rome, and the King was preparing to submit when he heard of the Pope's death.

The Church of Constantinople was at this time disturbed by a schism. Through the intrigues of a certain party at the Eastern courts, the orthodox patriarch, Ignatius, had been

deposed from his see and his place usurped by Photius, a layman of high rank. Ignatius refused to resign his see and was driven into exile. Both parties appealed to Rome, and Pope Nicholas supported the cause of Ignatius. It became evident that the dispute was only part of a larger question dealing with the relations between the Eastern and Western Churches. At a council held by Photius at Constantinople in 867, eight articles were drawn up, showing the points in which the Roman see was said to have departed from the ancient canons of discipline. These were, however, only the pretexts for division, the real cause being the refusal of the see of Constantinople to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome. The case of Ignatius and Photius meantime dragged on throughout the next pontificate.

The animosity of the Greeks was further increased by the decision of the Bulgarians to accept the Roman form of worship though they had been christianized by Greek missionaries. This added to the triumphs of Nicholas, although in the next pontificate the Bulgarians returned to the Greek Church.

During a great part of his pontificate Nicholas I was in conflict with the able and learned Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. Hincmar had declared the ordination of certain clerks to be null and void, because they had been ordained by his deposed predecessor, Ebbo. At a council held at Soissons in 853 this decision was confirmed, and afterwards approved by Benedict III (*q.v.*). Wulfade, one of the deposed clerks, encouraged by Charles the Bald, now appealed to Rome, and Nicholas I, declaring that Benedict III had been misinformed with regard to the facts, caused Wulfade and the other rejected clerks to be reinstated.

For many years Hincmar had been on unfriendly terms with one of his suffragans, Rothad of Soissons, whom he deposed on a charge of alienating Church property, but Pope Nicholas ordered Hincmar to restore Rothad to his former dignity on pain of excommunication.

It is generally held that Pope Nicholas, in one of his letters to Hincmar, supported his superior claim to authority by reference to the forged Isidorian Decretals, which appeared about this time. (*Vide* Siricius, *ante*, p. 39.) Father Mann denies that the reference of Pope Nicholas in the above-mentioned letter is to the false Decretals, and states that the code to which Pope Nicholas refers is the older one, commencing with the letters of Pope Siricius. He, however, ad-

mits that Pope Hadrian II (*vide infra*) quoted the authority of the forged Decretals in another of his letters, and from the middle of the eleventh century they were generally accepted by the bishops of Rome. It was not until the middle of the fifteenth century that they were pronounced spurious by Cardinal Nicholas de Cusa. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann's "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. iii, p. 138 and ff.)

Abundant harvests and great prosperity are said to have marked the reign of Nicholas. The Pope caused tickets for food marked with his name to be distributed among the poor. He restored the aqueducts of Rome and the walls of Ostia, which had been rebuilt by Gregory IV, and built a new dwelling-house for the popes and a convent near St. Sebastian's.

Pope Nicholas the Great died on 13th November 867, and was buried before the gates of St. Peter's. The profound impression created by his death throughout Christendom bore witness to the place he had occupied in the estimation of his contemporaries.

CVIII. HADRIAN II, A.D. 867-872

Emperor: Louis II, 855-875

IN November 867 the Roman clergy and people chose Hadrian, a Roman, the son of Talarus, to succeed Nicholas the Great in the Roman see. He belonged to the same distinguished family as his predecessors, Stephen IV and Sergius II, and was at the time of his elevation Cardinal of St. Mark's. He had already twice refused the papal chair, and was now, at the age of seventy-five, elected much against his will. The Emperor Louis having ratified the election, Hadrian was duly consecrated on 14th December 867.

Before taking orders Hadrian had married, and his wife Stephania was still alive when he ascended the pontifical throne. He now betrothed his only daughter to a noble Roman, but she was carried off and married by Eleutherius, son of Arsenius, who had been papal legate in France. The angry Pope demanded that the Emperor Louis should punish the offender, while Arsenius hastened to the imperial court to beg mercy for his son, but died suddenly soon after his arrival there. Imperial commissioners were despatched to Rome to judge Eleutherius, who, in despair, stabbed to death his wife

and her mother, Stephania. For this crime he was executed by order of the imperial commissioners.

The rejoicings which followed the consecration of Hadrian II were rudely interrupted by the arrival of an armed force, under Lambert, Duke of Spoleto, who, in accordance with the imperial Constitution of 824 (*vide* Eugenius II, p. 156), claimed the right to superintend papal elections. Assuming the *rôle* of a conqueror, Lambert sacked the churches, confiscated property belonging to the nobles in order to grant it to the Franks, and ravaged the whole neighbourhood of Rome before retiring. The Pope wrote to the Emperor, complaining of Lambert's conduct, but Louis was then fully engaged in fighting the Saracens in Southern Italy, and it was not until 871 that, from a motive of personal revenge, he inflicted punishment on the Duke.

In that year the Emperor Louis, after a victory over the Saracens in Southern Italy, withdrew to Benevento, where his army offended the inhabitants by ravaging their country. Adelchis, Prince of Benevento, with an armed force actually stormed the palace where the Emperor was staying, and took him prisoner, along with his wife and attendants. Louis remained a prisoner for a month, and was only released on promising never again to enter the territory of Benevento, or to take vengeance on Adelchis. From this oath he was afterwards absolved by John VIII. The Emperor, burning for revenge, collected his scattered troops, and, marching through Spoleto, deposed Duke Lambert from his duchy.

In February 868 Lothair, King of Lorraine, arrived in Italy to make his submission to the Pope. (*Vide* Nicholas I.) At Monte Cassino he had an interview with Pope Hadrian, and thence followed the Pope to Rome, where he was coldly received, Hadrian at first refusing to allow him to communicate, or even to be present at mass. At length, on his swearing a solemn oath that he was innocent of the crime of adultery for which he had been excommunicated by Pope Nicholas, and that he was resolved never again to have unlawful intercourse with the harlot Waldrada, lest he should provoke the judgement of God, he and his followers were allowed to communicate.

The King then left Rome, and some months later he and nearly the whole of his suite perished by a terrible pestilence then raging. Their death was looked on as a divine judgement for the false oath which had been sworn. The territory of Lothair was then seized by Charles the Bald, who divided it with Louis of Germany, although it belonged by right of in-

heritance to the Emperor. Pope Hadrian threatened Charles with excommunication and his kingdom with interdict if he did not restore to the Emperor his rights. Charles refused to obey, and the Pope in consequence is said to have protected Carloman, fourth and youngest son of Charles, who raised an unsuccessful rebellion against his father. Letters are extant in which Hadrian espouses the cause of the rebellious Carloman with great vehemence. The prince was seized, however, deprived of his eyes, and shut up in the abbey of Senlis.

During this pontificate a prolonged contest raged between Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, and his nephew, Hincmar, Bishop of Laon, who was accused of usurping the states of the church. (*Vide* p. 167.) The latter appealed to Pope Hadrian, who took his side against his uncle. Hincmar of Rheims, however, triumphed over his nephew, who, in the next pontificate, was blinded and imprisoned.

In 867 a revolution had taken place in Constantinople, the imperial throne of the East being usurped by Basil, the Macedonian. One of the first acts of Basil had been to depose Photius, and reinstate Ignatius in the see of Constantinople. In October 869 the Eighth Œcumenical Council assembled at Constantinople, Pope Hadrian II presiding by ten legates. At this council the decree of Nicholas I, concerning the degradation of Photius, was confirmed, and he was solemnly excommunicated. At the same time a temporary reconciliation was established between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople.

Pope Hadrian II died in November or December 872. He was buried in the vestibule of the sacristy of St. Peter's.

CIX. JOHN VIII, A.D. 872-882

Emperors: Louis II to 875; Charles the Bald, 875-877; Vacancy; Charles the Fat, 881-887

JOHN, Archdeacon of the Roman Church, a native of Rome, the son of Gundus, was chosen to fill the Roman see on the death of Hadrian II.

At the time of his elevation he was already aged, and in such weak health that his pontificate promised to be of short duration. Contrary to all expectation, however, John VIII, during the ten years of his rule, showed himself one of the most able and energetic prelates who had hitherto occupied the Roman see.

On the death of the Emperor Louis II without a male heir in 875, his uncles, Louis of Germany and Charles the Bald, both aspired to the imperial dignity. According to some accounts, Charles secured his own election by bribing the Romans to support him.

In December 875 Charles the Bald arrived in Rome, and was crowned emperor by the Pope on Christmas Day. At the coronation Pope John declared that by his own authority and right he had elected Charles emperor. Charles in turn conferred certain privileges on the Roman see.

There existed in Rome at this time a political party opposed to the Pope and to the Frankish interests, and who favoured Louis the German. Among the leaders were Formosus, Cardinal of Portus, Gregory, the nomenclator of the Roman Church, his brother Stephen, and his son-in-law, George of the Aventine. George and Gregory, after robbing the Lateran and other churches, had fled from Rome with the spoils, and Formosus, who had been accused of intriguing against the Pope and the Empire, is said to have fled along with them. Having refused to obey the Pope's orders to return to Rome, they were excommunicated and degraded at a synod held on 30th June, and John caused this sentence to be confirmed by Charles the Bald. According to one account these men afterwards intrigued with the Saracens.

Meantime the Saracens had equipped a new fleet for service against Italy, and Pope John wrote letter after letter to the Emperor Charles, begging for help against the invaders. But Charles was then engaged in war against his nephews, sons of Louis the German, who had opposed his election to the Empire. The Saracens then induced the Dukes of Salerno, Amalfi, and Gaeta, and also Sergius, the powerful Duke of Naples, to form an alliance with them against Rome.

Pope John meanwhile exerted himself to repel the invaders, and caused fortifications two miles in circumference to be built round St. Paul's Without-the-Walls. He was also the first to establish a papal navy, consisting of a number of war vessels called dromons, each propelled by a hundred oars. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, pp. 181-182.) In order to induce the princes of Southern Italy to break off their alliance with the Saracens, Pope John visited Naples and Capua, accompanied by Dukes Lambert and Guido of Spoleto, who were acting under orders from the Emperor Charles. Although the Pope succeeded to some

extent in his mission, he failed to persuade Sergius of Naples to renounce the alliance. After pronouncing anathemas against the latter, and causing twenty-two Neapolitan prisoners to be beheaded, Pope John returned to Rome. Five days later he set sail, although suffering from illness, with his small fleet from Portus. Overtaking the Saracens off the Cape of Circe, he won a great victory, capturing eighteen of their vessels, and six hundred Christian slaves, whom he liberated.

Fearing, however, that the Saracens were only temporarily repulsed, Pope John renewed his appeals to the Emperor Charles, who at length set out for Italy with a small force. He advanced to Pavia, accompanied by the Pope, who had come to meet him, but on learning that his nephew, Carloman, King of Bavaria, was following him, he retired to Tortona. There Pope John crowned Queen Richilda empress. As the troops he had summoned to his help failed to come, Charles retreated to France, but died on the way (13th October 877), poisoned, according to rumour, by his physician, who was a Jew.

In February of the following year the Pope was seized and imprisoned by an armed force under Lambert, Duke of Spoleto and Adalbert, Marquis of Tuscany, who had been excommunicated for usurping ecclesiastical territories. They proceeded to plunder the city, on the pretext that they were acting in the interests of Carloman of Bavaria. After remaining their prisoner for thirty days, Pope John was released and the invaders left Rome. The Pope solemnly excommunicated them, and afterwards fled by sea to France.

At Arles he was received with much honour by envoys from Louis the Stammerer, son of Charles the Bald. The Pope summoned a council of French and German bishops, and the three sons of Louis the German to meet at Troyes in the following August. This council was scantily attended, and the German princes failed to appear. Louis the Stammerer, who was present, was crowned King of France by Pope John, and anathemas were pronounced against Cardinal Formosus of Portus, and other enemies of the Church.

After remaining in France for nearly a year, Pope John returned to Italy, accompanied by Duke Boso, afterwards King of Provence, who vainly aspired to the imperial crown. During the Pope's absence some of the independent princes of Southern Italy had again joined the Saracens. Sergius, Duke of Naples, had died a prisoner, his brother Athanasius, Bishop of Naples, having intrigued against him, it is said, with the Pope. Athana-

sius, who was now both Duke and Bishop, afterwards deserted the Pope, and in turn joined the Saracens himself.

In 879 Charles the Fat, second son of Louis the German, arrived in Italy with an army, and was crowned King of Italy at Pavia. Disappointed in his hopes of placing a candidate of his own on the imperial throne, Pope John was unwillingly induced to crown Charles the Fat emperor, in Rome, in 881.

In 877 Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, died, and Photius, who had been already twice expelled, was placed in the vacant see. (*Vide ante*, pp. 167, 170.) Pope John now agreed to acknowledge Photius on certain conditions, which, however, are said not to have been fulfilled, for he was again denounced in 881. (*Vide* Marinus I.) During this pontificate Burhred, King of Mercia, driven from his country by the Danes, fled to Rome, and, dying there, was buried at the Schola Anglorum in the church of Sta. Maria.[1] (*Vide* William of Malmesbury, "English Chronicle.")

Among Pope John's letters, of which 326 are extant, is one addressed to Edred, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had complained to the Pope that King Alfred of England had failed to render him due obedience. Pope John sympathizes with Edred, and states that he has written to reprove King Alfred. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 397.)

John VIII, the last great pope of the ninth century, died on 16th December 882. According to one account he met with a violent death at the hands of one of his enemies. He is said to have been buried in St. Peter's. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," Eng. trans., p. 162.)

CX. MARINUS I (or MARTIN II), A.D. 882-884

Emperor: CHARLES THE FAT, 881-887

WITH the death of Pope John VIII we enter on a period known as "the Night of the Papacy." The breaking up of the Carlovingian Empire, now imminent, which was to follow the death of the vicious and incompetent Charles the Fat, brought with it a corresponding degradation of the Papacy, lasting for more than a century.

Marinus I, or Martin II, as he is called by some writers,

[1] This church was rebuilt about 826, but was afterwards destroyed by the Saracens. On its site now stands the church of S. Spirito in Sassia.

seems, during his short pontificate, to have been the tool of the German party, which had opposed his predecessor. (*Vide* John VIII.) Previous to his elevation to the papal chair, Marinus, a native of Gallesium, in Tuscany, the son of a presbyter named Palumbus, had occupied a position of distinction in the Roman Church. He had thrice been sent as papal legate to Constantinople on business connected with the usurpation of the see by Photius, and on one of his visits had represented Hadrian II (*q.v.*) at the Eighth General Council. By Pope John VIII Marinus had been made Bishop of Caere, treasurer of the Apostolic see, and archdeacon.

Pope Marinus I denounced and anathematized Photius, of Constantinople (*vide* John VII) and restored Formosus, Cardinal of Portus, to his see, annulling the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced against him. (*Vide* John VIII.)

Charles the Fat, who, since his coronation, had seen re-united under him by degrees nearly the whole Carlovingian Empire, spent the summer of 883 in Italy. He now seized the opportunity of confiscating the estates of certain Italian nobles, granting them to the low-born ruffians whom he admitted to terms of intimacy with himself. The offended nobles rose in arms, and regained possession of their estates by force. In the following year Charles was obliged to make peace with the Italians.

In June 883 a friendly meeting took place between Pope Marinus and Charles the Fat at the monastery of Nonantula, near Modena, when Charles agreed to depose from his duchy Guido of Spoleto, the spoiler of the estates of the Church, who had been accused of intriguing with the Greek Emperor. Charles was afterwards attacked by fever, and obliged to retire from Italy. It is recorded that Pope Marinus sent valuable presents to Alfred, King of England, and along with them some portions of the true Cross. At Alfred's request he exempted the Schola Anglorum in Rome from taxation. (*Vide* "A.-S. Chronicle.")

Pope Marinus died in April or May 884, after a pontificate of about one year and five months. He was buried in the portico of St. Peter's, between the Porta Argentata and the Porta Romana. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 224, *note.*)

CXI. HADRIAN III, A.D. 884-885

Emperor: CHARLES THE FAT, 881-887

HADRIAN, a Roman, the son of Benedict, was elected Bishop of Rome on 17th May 884. In the first year of his pontificate the Saracens, continuing their depredations, burned the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, and murdered the abbot Bertarius on the steps of the altar. Charles the Fat, being unable to send any assistance to Italy, Pope Hadrian III issued a decree that if Charles died without a male heir the title of Emperor should be bestowed only on a prince of Italian birth. According to the "Liber Pontificalis" he also decreed that future popes might be consecrated without waiting for the presence of the imperial envoys. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 225.) Both these decrees, are, however, considered to be of doubtful authenticity. It is further recorded that Hadrian III caused to be blinded George of the Aventine, who had been excommunicated by John VIII. (*Vide* p. 171.)

Basil, the Eastern Emperor, attempted to induce Pope Hadrian to acknowledge Photius for lawful patriarch (*vide* Nicholas I, etc.), and is said even to have offered to send a fleet against the Saracens if the Pope would concede to his wishes in this respect. Hadrian, however, refused, and the Emperor Basil then addressed to him a letter full of abuse, in which he made certain charges against both Hadrian and his predecessor, Marinus, whom he accused of arrogance, and of sacrificing the peace of the Church to his own interests. Pope Hadrian died before this letter reached him.

In August or September 885 Charles the Fat summoned Pope Hadrian to attend a diet at Worms. The Pope set out on his journey, but died on the way at the villa of Viulzachara or St. Cesario, on the river Scultinna, near Modena. He was buried in the monastery of Nonantula, about five miles distant from the place of his death. An anonymous monk of the monastery of Nonantula wrote, probably in the tenth century, a short life of Hadrian I, under the belief that it was he who had been buried in the monastery. The monk relates that the Pope's tomb (really that of Hadrian III), was afterwards violated by some monks, who broke into it in order to obtain the papal vestments. These vestments were long preserved in the monastery. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. i, pt. 2, p. 395.)

CXII. STEPHEN VI (V), A.D. 885-891

Emperor: CHARLES THE FAT, 881-887
Emperor (in Italy): GUIDO, 891-894

IN September 885 Stephen, a Roman, the son of Hadrian, was consecrated Bishop of Rome by Formosus, Cardinal of Portus. According to one account he belonged to the noble family of Colonna, and his education had been supervised with the greatest care by his uncle Zachary, the saintly Bishop of Anagni, librarian of the Apostolic see. By Pope Marinus I, who was deeply attached to him, Stephen had been ordained Cardinal-priest of the church of the Quattro Coronati. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 191.) Assisted by funds provided by his wealthy father, Stephen restored the papal palace, which, according to custom, had been stripped on the death of its owner, and showed great generosity to the poor and to orphans, whom he frequently entertained at his own table.

At the time of Pope Stephen's elevation to the Roman see there was much misery in Rome and throughout Italy, not only on account of the depredations of the Saracens, but also through a drought, followed by a plague of locusts, which brought famine in their train. But on the very day on which Stephen was consecrated rain began to fall, and, in order to encourage people to destroy the locusts, he offered a reward of six denarii for every bushel brought in. Finding that the plague still continued, he blessed a great quantity of water, and ordered the people to sprinkle it on the vines and crops. On this being done the locusts are said to have fallen dead miraculously, in great heaps. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," *ibid.*, p. 196.)

Although Stephen was consecrated in the presence of imperial envoys, who happened to be in Rome at that time, Charles the Fat was offended because the ceremony had taken place without his sanction. He therefore despatched Liutard of Vercelli, and other bishops, to Rome, with orders to depose Stephen. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, pp. 427-428.) But the Pope, by sending legates to Charles to represent that he had been unanimously elected by the clergy, nobility, and people of Rome, effected a reconciliation with the Emperor, who afterwards acknowledged him as lawful Pope.

In November 887 Charles the Fat, whose incompetence seems to have increased with his obesity, was deposed by the nobles at a diet held at Tribur. He died in the following year. With his death the Carlovingian Empire came to an end, and was broken up among a number of petty rulers. At Tribur the nobles had elected as King of Germany, Arnulf, the illegitimate son of Carloman, brother of Charles the Fat. Odo, Count of Paris, became King of the Western Franks. In Italy the people were divided into two parties, one supporting Berengar Margrave of Friuli, and the other Guido Duke of Spoleto.

Pope Stephen is said at first to have supported Arnulf of Germany, who was, however, prevented by disturbances in Germany from accepting the Pope's invitation to come to Italy to receive the imperial crown. Stephen then gave his support to Guido, who had been victorious over his rival in two battles. On 21st February 891 Guido, although master only of some territory in Central Italy, received the imperial crown, with the title of emperor from Pope Stephen.

Among the extant letters of Pope Stephen is a lengthy epistle addressed to the Eastern Emperor Basil, in reply to a letter which that Emperor had addressed to Pope Hadrian III (*q.v.*). In this epistle Pope Stephen asserts the lofty claims of the see of Peter, and censures the Emperor Basil for presuming to recognize as patriarch of the see of Constantinople, Photius, who had been deposed and anathematized by the Bishop of Rome. (*Vide* Nicholas I, etc.) He also defends Pope Marinus I against the charge made by Basil that he had been translated from another see to the see of Rome, contrary to the canons. The Pope congratulates Basil that his youngest son Stephen has been destined to take holy orders, and concludes by earnestly entreating him to send help against the Saracens. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 428.) This letter did not reach Constantinople until 886, after the death of Basil, and was received by his son and successor, Leo VI.

Leo, moved by this letter, deposed Photius, who had at this time been suspected of intriguing against the Emperor. Photius retired to a monastery in Armenia, where he remained until his death. Leo VI then raised his brother Stephen, a youth of sixteen, to the patriarchal see of Constantinople. A difficulty arose through the fact that Stephen had been ordained a deacon by the usurper Photius; both the Emperor and Stylianus, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, wrote to consult Pope Stephen with regard to the matter. The Pope, on receiving these letters,

found that there was considerable disagreement between them, the Emperor stating that Photius had abdicated, and Stylianus that he had been driven from his see. Stephen therefore refused to pronounce any decision on the matter until he had heard envoys from both parties. Legates from the Eastern Emperor were accordingly despatched to Rome, but Pope Stephen died before their arrival.

It is recorded of Pope Stephen that he preached frequently to the people. One of his sermons, which deals with the reverence due from worshippers in the House of God, is quoted in the "Liber Pontificalis," and contains some passages of great beauty. The fame of his sanctity is said to have been so great that people came from all parts of the world to receive his blessing.

Pope Stephen VI died in September 891, and was buried in the atrium of St. Peter's. His epitaph is quoted by Duchesne. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," vol. ii, p. 226, *note.*)

CXIII. FORMOSUS, A.D. 891-896

Emperors (in Italy): GUIDO to 894; LAMBERT, 894-898
Emperor (in Italy and Germany): ARNULF, 896-899

FORMOSUS, Cardinal-bishop of Portus, the son of Leo, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 6th October 891. The "Liber Pontificalis" states that he was a native of Portus, but it is more probable that he was a Roman, "native" being written in error for "bishop."

For many years previous to his elevation, he had occupied a position of considerable prominence in the Church. By Pope Nicholas I he had been appointed a legate to Bulgaria. While there Formosus so won the favour of Bogoris, king of that country, that the latter vainly petitioned both Nicholas I and his successor, Hadrian II, for permission to retain him as bishop. By Pope John VIII Formosus had been chosen as one of the legates who conveyed to Charles the Bald the invitation to come to Rome to receive the imperial crown. Shortly after this, Formosus, who had attached himself to the German party in Rome, lost favour with John VIII. Having been accused of certain crimes, including that of conspiring to murder the Pope, he fled from Rome, along with the leaders of the German party (*vide ante*, p. 171). At a Roman synod held shortly afterwards, Formosus was excommunicated by

John VIII, who forbade him to return to Rome, and this sentence was confirmed by Charles the Bald a few months later.

Having been restored to his bishopric of Portus by Pope Marinus I (*q.v.*), Formosus was from thence translated to the papal chair in 891. In spite of the accusations brought against him during the pontificate of John VIII, several writers of that period declare him to have possessed a character in every way worthy of respect.

Formosus, following the decisions of Nicholas I and Hadrian II, refused to grant the petition, brought by legates from the Eastern Emperor Leo VI, that the ordinations made by Photius might be recognized, and ordered that those ordained by that prelate should be degraded from their clerical ranks. (*Vide* Stephen VI.) It appears, however, that this decree of the Pope was not obeyed, as it would have caused the greatest confusion in the Church of Constantinople.

Odo, or Eudes, Count of Paris, had been chosen King of the Franks, but in 893 a party of the nobility, who were loyal to the Carlovingian dynasty, chose as king the boy-prince, Charles the Simple, son of Louis the Stammerer. Fulk, Archbishop of Rheims, succeeded in attaching Pope Formosus to the interests of this prince, to whom, as well as to Fulk, several letters were addressed by the Pope. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 437.) Formosus also wrote to Odo, commanding him not to molest King Charles, but for some time the strife continued between the rival princes. At length peace was brought about largely through the efforts of the Pope. A partition of territory was made, it being agreed that on the death of Odo, Charles should succeed to his kingdom, an arrangement actually carried out in 898.

In 894 Guido of Spoleto died, and was succeeded by his son Lambert, who had previously been crowned by Pope Formosus as a partner with his father in the Empire. Bloody wars broke out between Lambert and Berengar of Friuli, who now revived his claim. (*Vide* Stephen VI.)

To put an end to the strife, Formosus who had all along been attached to the interests of the German party, invited Arnulf of Germany to come to Rome to receive the imperial crown. Arnulf arrived in Italy with a large army, conquered Lombardy, and from there advanced against Rudulf of Burgundy. Sickness broke out among his troops, and he was obliged to return home, without proceeding to Rome. In the following year, 895, however, Arnulf went to Rome. He found the city

defended by the troops of Agiltruda, mother of Lambert, who held the Pope a prisoner. It is related that a hare, starting up among the tents of the German army, was pursued by the soldiers with loud shouts, and the noise so startled the garrison that they fled in a panic. Thus Arnulf captured the city without the loss of a single man.

His first act was to release Pope Formosus from prison, whereupon the Pope crowned Arnulf emperor. After a stay of fifteen days in Rome, Arnulf proceeded to Spoleto, whither Agiltruda had escaped, and laid siege to that place. He was, however, seized with paralysis, and forced to return to Bavaria. On his withdrawal the strife recommenced between Lambert and Berengar. But before the death of Pope Formosus, which occurred on Easter Day (4th April) 896, he had persuaded the rivals to make peace, and to divide Lombardy between them. Formosus, who is supposed to have been eighty years old at the time of his death, was buried in St. Peter's.

For an account of the extraordinary post-mortem trial of Pope Formosus *vide* Stephen VII, *infra.*

CXIV. BONIFACE VI, A.D. 896

Emperors (in Italy): GUIDO to 894; LAMBERT, 894-898
Emperor (in Italy and Germany): ARNULF, 896-899

IN the midst of a popular tumult, which followed the death of Pope Formosus, Boniface, a Roman, the son of a bishop named Hadrian, was chosen Bishop of Rome. According to one account he intruded himself by force into the papal chair, and had twice previously been degraded, first from the rank of sub-deacon, and afterwards from that of priest for his notoriously immoral life. Although at a council held by John IX in 898 Boniface's election was annulled, his name has not been erased from the lists of Popes. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 225.) After a pontificate of fifteen days, Boniface VI died of gout, and was buried "in the Portico of the Popes," in St. Peter's.

CXV. STEPHEN VII (VI), A.D. 896-897

Emperor (in Italy): LAMBERT to 898
Emperor (in Germany): ARNULF, 896-899

STEPHEN, a Roman, the son of a presbyter named John, was chosen by the Italian party to fill the Roman see after the premature death of Boniface VI. The date of his consecration is uncertain, but it evidently took place before August 896. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 439.)

Pope Stephen at first acknowledged Arnulf as emperor, but is said to have done so out of fear. On the withdrawal of Arnulf from Italy, Stephen sided with Lambert, who again took up his abode at Pavia.

For some obscure reason Pope Stephen seems to have been imbued with a deep and deadly animosity towards the deceased Pope Formosus (*q.v.*). According to one account the latter had at one time opposed the election of Stephen to the papal chair. It seems more probable, however, that Stephen was actuated by party feeling, since he owed his election to the faction opposed to the Germans.

Whatever may have been his motive Pope Stephen ordered the dead body of Formosus, which had then lain in the grave for at least nine months, to be exhumed, in order that it might be solemnly judged before an ecclesiastical council. The corpse, dressed in the pontifical vestments, was placed on a throne, and a deacon was appointed to act as counsel for the defence. In the presence of the assembled bishops and nobles, Stephen thus addressed the dead Pope: "Why didst thou, while Bishop of Portus, tempted by ambition, dare to usurp the Apostolic see?" No defence is recorded to have been made by the counsel, and Pope Stephen ordered the body to be stripped of its sacred vestments. The three fingers of the right hand, with which popes are wont to bestow the benediction, were cut off, and the body was thrown into the Tiber. It was also decreed that all who had been ordained by Pope Formosus should be re-ordained by Pope Stephen.

Shortly after the meeting of this strange tribunal, the church of the Lateran collapsed, and fell to the ground from the altar to the door. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 229.) This catastrophe was attributed by the enemies of

Pope Stephen to a divine judgement for his treatment of the dead Formosus.

These enemies were not slow to wreak their vengeance on Pope Stephen. After a pontificate of about one year and one month, he was seized during a popular rising, thrown into a dungeon, and there strangled. His death is believed to have taken place either in the end of July, or beginning of August 897. The body of Stephen VII is said to have been translated from the place where it was buried to the church of St. Peter, by order of Pope Sergius III, in 907.

In order to prevent the riots common at this period at papal elections, Pope Stephen VII is said to have consented that the consecrations should again be held in the presence of imperial envoys. Decrees issued by the Pope are extant, granting privileges to certain churches in France. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 439.)

CXVI. ROMANUS, A.D. 897

Emperor (in Italy): LAMBERT, 894-898
Emperor (in Germany and Italy): ARNULF, 896-899

ROMANUS, a presbyter of the church of St. Peter ad Vincula, a native of Gallesium, the son of Constantine, was chosen Bishop of Rome, probably in August 897. Although he is said to have reversed the decrees of his predecessor, there is no authentic evidence that he actually did so.

Romanus confirmed to the church of Elena (Rousillon) its possessions, at the request of Riculf, its bishop. He also confirmed certain privileges to the church of Gerona in Spain at the request of Bishop Servus-dei. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 441.)

Pope Romanus died in November 897, after a pontificate of less than four months.

CXVII. THEODORE II, A.D. 897

Emperor (in Italy): LAMBERT, 894-898
Emperor (in Germany): ARNULF, 896-899

THEODORE, a Roman, the son of Photius, was chosen Bishop of Rome in November 897, but died after a reign of twenty days. His short pontificate was rendered remarkable

by the reappearance on the scene of the corpse of Pope Formosus, which had been thrown into the Tiber by Pope Stephen VII (*q.v.*). It is related that during a terrible storm and flood, which occurred at this time, the body, apparently in a state of extraordinary preservation, was thrown up on the bank of the river, at a convenient spot near the church of St. Acontius at Portus.

With regard to this account, Father Mann writes: "From the fact that the body of Formosus was entire when recovered from the Tiber, and in such a state as to be able to be reclad with vestments, it is obvious that it cannot have been thrown into the river by Stephen VII. It must have been thrown in just before it was recovered." (*Vide* Mann's "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 89.) The same writer states that according to one account the body had been laid by order of Pope Stephen VII in a place reserved for the burial of pilgrims, that it had been disinterred by treasure-seekers on the night of the storm, and thrown into the Tiber.

After this it is not surprising to read that three days after the flood, Pope Formosus appeared in a vision to a certain pious monk, and requested that his body, after so many vicissitudes, should finally be honourably buried. Pope Theodore II, on hearing of this, ordered the body to be reclad in the sacred vestments and brought to St. Peter's, accompanied by a solemn procession, with lights, incense, and psalms. The body having been placed in the *Confessio* of St. Peter, a solemn mass was said for the dead Pope, whose remains were finally laid to rest in their original tomb in St. Peter's. On the authority of the most pious men in Rome, it was afterwards related that when the body was brought into St. Peter's certain images of the saints were seen to salute it with the greatest reverence. Pope Theodore also assembled a synod in Rome, and reinstated those clergy ordained by Formosus, who had been degraded by Pope Stephen VII.

Nothing further is known of the acts of Pope Theodore II, except that he granted certain privileges to the see of Grado. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 441.) He is said to have been beloved by the clergy, charitable, affable, and a lover of the poor.

The shortness of the pontificates of so many popes of this period was probably due to the fact that very aged and infirm men were placed by the leaders of party factions in the papal chair.

CXVIII. JOHN IX, A.D. 898-900

Emperor (in Italy): LAMBERT to 898
Emperor (in Germany): ARNULF to 899

JOHN, a Benedictine, a native of Tivoli, the son of Rampoald, was elected Bishop of Rome, according to the "Liber Pontificalis," in January 898. His election was opposed by the presbyter Sergius (afterwards Sergius III), who, supported by the anti-Formosian party (*vide* Stephen VII), attempted to place himself on the papal throne. Sergius was, however, driven out of Rome, and fled for protection to Adalbert of Tuscany.

At the beginning of this pontificate, Berengar of Friuli marched to Rome with an armed force, and is said to have forced Pope John to crown him emperor. But immediately after his departure the Pope declared his coronation null and void, and acknowledged Lambert as lawful emperor. The coronation of Arnulf of Germany by Formosus (*q.v.*) was also declared null by the Pope and by the Italians.

To vindicate the memory of Formosus, by whom John IX had been ordained a priest, he held three synods. The first of these assembled in Rome in 898. The acts of the synod which had tried the dead body of Formosus were burnt, and the prelates who had taken part in it were required to do penance before being admitted to communion. (*Vide* Stephen VII.) The ordinations made by Pope Formosus were also recognized, and future trials of corpses were prohibited. It was also forbidden in future to plunder papal palaces on the death of the Pope. Translations from one see to another were also forbidden. Later in the same year Pope John went to Ravenna, and there held another council of seventy-four bishops, at which the Emperor Lambert was present in person. The acts of the Roman synod were there confirmed, and an imperial tribunal was instituted to which appeals might be addressed against injury of property by the nobles. At this synod the Pope complained to the Emperor of the poverty of the Roman Church, stating that the funds had sunk so low that there was no money either to pay the clergy or to give alms to the poor. A third council is said to have been held by Pope John, but nothing is known concerning it.

Shortly after the meeting of the synod at Ravenna Lambert was killed by a fall from his horse. After his death Berengar

of Friuli seized Lombardy, but failed in an attempt to obtain the imperial crown. Arnulf of Germany died in the following year, and was succeeded by his son Louis, a boy of seven, who was acknowledged King of Germany. Hatto, Archbishop of Mentz, wrote to John IX, apologizing for having crowned Louis without waiting for the consent of the Pope, on the grounds that the roads to Rome were infested with robbers. He now begged the Pope to confirm the consecration of Louis.

Pope John IX, at the request of the Slavs of Moravia, sent them one archbishop and three bishops, notwithstanding the opposition of the German bishops, who claimed jurisdiction over Moravia.

Several authentic letters of Pope John IX are extant. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 443.) One of these is addressed to Hariveus, of Rheims, who had succeeded to that see after the murder of Fulk, and who had written to the Pope for advice concerning certain Normans, who, although baptized, still continued their evil life. Another letter is addressed to Stylianus, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, who had written requesting that ordinations made by Photius might be recognized by the Pope. (*Vide* Stephen VI, p. 177.) The Pope refused to grant his request, as to do so would have been to annul the decrees of preceding popes. In a third letter, Pope John ordered Argrim of Langres, who had been deposed by Pope Stephen VI, to be reinstated in his see.

Pope John IX died in January 900, after a pontificate of about two years, and was buried just outside St. Peter's.

CXIX. BENEDICT IV, A.D. 900-903

Emperor: Louis III of Provence, 901-905

BENEDICT, a Roman, the son of Mammalus, was consecrated Bishop of Rome probably in the spring of 900, the exact date being uncertain. He came of a noble and distinguished family, and was much esteemed on account of his zeal for the Church, and his charity to the poor and orphans. In the years 899 and 900, Louis of Provence, son of Boso and Hermengard, the daughter of Louis II, invaded Italy with an army, and after defeating Berengar of Friuli, proceeded to Rome, where he was crowned emperor by Pope Benedict IV. According to some accounts Louis had been invited to Italy by Pope John IX. His election to the Empire was supported

by many powerful Italian nobles, including Adalbert of Tuscany. In the August following his consecration, Benedict IV held a council in Rome to reconsider the case of Argrim of Langres, who had not yet been reinstated in his see, although John IX (*q.v.*) had ordered his restoration. The assembled bishops agreed that Argrim had been unjustly driven from his see, and Pope Benedict wrote letters to the bishops and people of Gaul, informing them of the decision of the council. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 443.) After receipt of these letters Argrim was reinstated. It is recorded of Pope Benedict that he granted certain privileges to the monastery of Fulda, and also showed much kindness to Malacenus, Bishop of Amasia in Pontus, who, driven from his see by the Saracens, had sought the Pope's protection. An encyclical letter of Pope Benedict is extant, written in favour of Malacenus, to all orthodox bishops, abbots, and counts in the countries through which the deposed prelate was to pass, exhorting them to show him kindness. (*Vide ibid.*, p. 444.)

Pope Benedict IV died probably in August 903, and was buried in front of the church of St. Peter.

CXX. LEO V, A.D. 903

Emperor: Louis III of Provence, 901-905

LEO, a native of Priapi, in the district of Ardea, was elected to the Roman see probably in August 903. The exact length of his pontificate is uncertain, but it did not exceed forty days. The "Liber Pontificalis" describes him as a "presbyter forensis," which Duchesne explains to mean that he was not Cardinal-priest of any of the Roman churches, but was attached to some church outside the city. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 234, *note.*)

There is a legend that Leo V was no other than the holy Breton Saint Tugdual, who came on a pilgrimage to Rome, and being chosen pope, took the name of Leo Britigena. (*Vide ibid.*, *note.*) After reigning about forty days Leo V was deposed by Christopher, Cardinal-priest of St. Damasus, and was cast into prison, where, according to some accounts, he soon afterwards died of a broken heart. Other writers state that he was put to death by order of Sergius III (*q. v. infra*). It is recorded of Pope Leo V that he exempted the church of Bologna from paying taxes. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 746.)

CXXI. CHRISTOPHER, A.D. 903-904

Emperor: LOUIS III of Provence, 901-905

CHRISTOPHER, Cardinal-priest of St. Damasus, a Roman, the son of Leo, having seized and imprisoned Pope Leo V (*q.v.*) usurped the papal chair in the autumn of 903.

Some writers, including Father Mann, are inclined to believe that Christopher was regarded by his contemporaries as an anti-pope, although his name now appears in all the accepted lists of the popes. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 114.) Very little is known of the acts of Christopher. It is recorded that in December 903, he confirmed all the privileges granted by his predecessors to the abbey of Corbey, at the request of the abbot Francis. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 445.) After a pontificate of about seven months, Christopher was deposed by the partisans of the presbyter Sergius in January 904, and was confined first in a monastery, and afterwards in a dungeon, where, according to one account, he died from the hardships he endured. Another account states that he was put to death by order of Sergius III. He is said to have been buried in St. Peter's, and the following epitaph found among the ruins of the ancient church is believed to have been his: "Hic pia Christophori quiescunt membra sepulti." (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 235, *note*.)

CXXII. SERGIUS III, A.D. 904-911

Emperor: LOUIS III of Provence, 901-905 (deposed)

SERGIUS, a Roman, the son of Benedict, was consecrated Bishop of Rome on 29th January 904. In 898 he had been a candidate for the papal chair, but being rejected by the partisans of John IX (*q.v.*), had been driven into exile in Tuscany, where he remained for seven years.

According to one account Sergius belonged to the illustrious family of the Conti, and had been consecrated Bishop of Caere by Formosus, to whom he was afterwards bitterly opposed. With the support of a large faction of the nobles, and of Adalbert, Marquis of Tuscany, who furnished him with troops, Sergius proceeded to Rome in January 904, and, having deposed Christopher, took possession of the papal chair.

The character of Pope Sergius III has been painted in the blackest colours, especially by the contemporary writer Liutprand. Recent writers, however, point out that many statements made by Liutprand can be shown to be untrustworthy.

There was at this time living in Rome the celebrated Theodora, wife of Theophylact, a powerful Roman noble. This beautiful but wicked woman, and her two profligate daughters, Marozia and Theodora, had gained so much influence that they are said to have completely ruled Rome, and for some time elected whom they would to the see of Peter. According to the contemporary writer, Liutprand, Pope Sergius III had, by Marozia, a son, who afterwards became Pope John XI.

One of the first acts of Sergius III, after his elevation to the Roman see, was to assemble a council in Rome, at which he condemned anew the memory of Pope Formosus, and declared the ordinations made by that Pope to be annulled. (*Vide* Stephen VII.) Sergius rebuilt the church of the Lateran, which had fallen down in the pontificate of Stephen VII (*q.v.*), and enriched it with many valuable gifts. He is recorded to have awarded privileges to a number of monasteries (*vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 446), and to have granted, in 906, certain estates from the Tuscan patrimony to the bishopric of Silva Candida, which had been impoverished by the Saracen raids.

In 905 Berengar of Friuli attacked the Emperor Louis III at Verona, and put out his eyes. Berengar was unable as yet, however, to obtain the imperial crown to which he had long aspired, although he was acknowledged as King of Italy. Louis was sent back to Provence, where he spent his days in enforced inactivity until his death in 928. Pope Sergius III died 14th April 911, and was buried, according to one account, in St. Peter's, according to another in the Lateran church.

CXXIII. ANASTASIUS III, A.D. 911-913

King of Italy: BERENGAR, 905-916 (?)

ANASTASIUS, a Roman, the son of Lucian, was chosen to succeed Sergius III as Bishop of Rome. The exact date of his elevation is uncertain, some writers giving April, and others June, 911. His pontificate lasted about two years and two months. Very little is known of the acts of this pontiff.

Nicholas, patriarch of Constantinople, addressed a long

letter to this Pope, complaining that he had been driven from his see for refusing to sanction the fourth marriage of the Eastern Emperor Leo VI. Nicholas had been seized at a banquet, to which he had been invited by the Emperor, had been placed on board a vessel and conveyed into exile. An appeal had previously been made to Pope Sergius III with regard to this matter, and he had sided against Nicholas by sanctioning the Emperor's fourth marriage. What side Anastasius took is unknown, for he died before he could reply to the patriarch's letter. Meantime, however, the Emperor Leo was seized with mortal illness, and, repenting of his conduct, recalled and reinstated Nicholas in his see.

Anastasius III granted to the churches of Grado and Hamburg certain privileges, and also to Ragembert of Vercelli the use of the pallium. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 448.) At the special request of Berengar, King of Italy, Anastasius gave permission for the Bishop of Pavia to ride in processions on a white horse with a canopy above him, and a cross carried in front, and also granted him the privilege of sitting on the Pope's right hand in ecclesiastical councils. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 144.)

Anastasius III died either in June or in the autumn of 913, and was buried in St. Peter's. In his epitaph quoted by Duchesne (*vide* "Liber Pontificalis," vol. ii, p. 239, *note*), Anastasius is praised for his mild rule and for his integrity.

CXXIV. LANDO, A.D. 913-914

King of Italy: BERENGAR, 905-916 (?)

LANDO, a native of the Sabina, the son of Taino, a Lombard Count, became Bishop of Rome some time in the autumn of 913, the exact date being uncertain, and died in the early part of 914, after a pontificate of about six months.

Hardly anything is known concerning this pontiff, except that he is said to have granted certain privileges to the church of St. Saviour in Forum Novum, in the Sabina. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 147.) He is recorded to have possessed a character in every way worthy of respect.

Pope Lando is said to have been buried in St. Peter's.

CXXV. JOHN X, A.D. 914-928

Emperor: BERENGAR, 916 (?)-923

JOHN, a native of Castel Tossignano, near Imola, in Romagna, the son of John, was elevated to the Roman see in March 914. The contemporary writer, Liutprand of Cremona, who was born during this pontificate, and who wrote his history about fifty years later, is chiefly responsible for certain dark rumours concerning the character of this Pope. Liutprand relates that while John was a deacon at Bologna, he was frequently sent to Rome on ecclesiastical business, and on the occasion of one of his visits Theodora, wife of the Senator Theophylact, fell violently in love with him. (*Vide ante*, p. 188.) Through her influence he was made Archbishop of Ravenna, about the year 905, and was from thence, in flagrant disregard of the decree of Pope John IX (*q.v.*), translated to the see of Rome in 914. The story is, however, open to doubt, and whatever may have been the influences which led to his elevation, John X proved himself to be one of the foremost statesmen of his age, as well as one of the ablest and most energetic prelates who had hitherto occupied the Roman see.

The Saracens continued to devastate Italy, and since the year 876 had occupied a strong fortress on the banks of the Garigliano, a short distance from Rome. From thence they made frequent incursions into the Roman territory, maltreating and even putting to death the pilgrims who approached the holy city. Pope John X determined to make a vigorous effort to unite Christendom against the marauders. As the Emperor Louis III had lost all power in Italy, the Pope, with the support of the Italian nobility, offered the imperial crown to Berengar, King of Italy, on condition that he would lend his aid against the Saracens. Berengar accepted the offer, and advanced to Rome with a powerful force. He was received with the highest honours, a procession of scholars and representatives of the chief nobles going out to meet him at some distance from the city. During his stay in Rome he was magnificently entertained by the Pope. According to some accounts the imperial coronation of Berengar took place early in December 915, but according to others not until Easter Day (24th March) 916.

Meantime Pope John had succeeded in uniting the princes

of Southern Italy in a league against the Saracens, and had also induced the Eastern Emperor Constantine to send a fleet to Italy.

The campaign against the Saracens began in the summer of 916. Pope John accompanied the troops, which were led by Theophylact, and by Alberic, Margrave of Camerino, who had married Marozia. (*Vide* Sergius III.) After gaining several victories, the allied armies attacked the Saracen fortress on the Garigliano, which surrendered after a siege of three months. This fortress, long the terror of Italy, was destroyed. During the attack Pope John led the troops in person, and showed great personal courage.

The ecclesiastical administration of this Pope was also carried out with energy and success. Numerous records are extant proving the authority he exercised over distant churches. In 921 Pope John determined a controversy which had long raged between Hilduin and Richter, two candidates for the see of Langres. On the subject of this controversy several letters of Pope John are extant, addressed to Hermann, Archbishop of Cologne, who had ordained Hilduin. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, pp. 450-451.) Pope John X decided in favour of Richter, ordering Hilduin to be driven out and excommunicated.

In 923 Charles the Simple of France was treacherously seized by Heribert, Count of Vermandois, and kept a prisoner till his death in 929. Pope John espoused the cause of Charles, but was unable to obtain his release. In 923 the Emperor Berengar was murdered at Verona, and for nearly forty years after his death the title of Emperor remained dormant in the West.

The Italian nobles, however, chose Hugh, Count of Provence, as King of Italy. After his coronation at Pavia Hugh proceeded to Mantua, and was there met by Pope John, who made a treaty with him. The terms of this treaty are not known, but it is generally supposed that John offered Hugh the imperial crown, on condition of receiving help against his enemies. (*Cf.* Gregorovius "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans. vol. iii, p. 277.)

Meantime Alberic, the husband of Marozia, had been driven from Rome by the Pope and the Roman nobles on account of his tyrannical government. He is said to have entered into a secret alliance with the Hungarians, who were now wasting Northern Italy. Alberic was, however, attacked in Horta, and is said to have been slain by the Roman militia.

In the following year (926) Marozia married Guido, son of Adalbert, Marquis of Tuscany, and half-brother of Hugh, King of Italy. It is generally supposed that the alliance of Pope John with Hugh was felt to endanger the power of Marozia and her husband, who were also incensed against Peter, the Pope's brother, on account of the part he had taken in driving out the tyrant Alberic. In May 928 Guido, with a band of ruffians, broke into the Lateran Palace, and, having slain Peter before the eyes of his brother, seized Pope John and cast him into prison. There he died soon afterwards, having been smothered with a pillow, according to one account.

During this pontificate, Wulfhelm, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Rome (927). William of Malmesbury (ed. Bohn, ii, vi, pp. 137-138), quoting from King Athelstan, records a curious story concerning Elfred, the rival and enemy of Athelstan. Elfred was sent to Rome to defend himself before Pope John X. "This he did at the altar of St. Peter, but at the very instant he had sworn he fell down before it, and was carried by his servants to the English school, where he died the third night after." Pope John X then sent to consult King Athelstan about the propriety of giving the body of Elfred Christian burial. Athelstan consented to allow this, but confiscated the whole of Elfred's property, which he granted to the Abbey of Malmesbury. Pope John X was buried in the Lateran church, near the principal entrance.

CXXVI. LEO VI, A.D. 928

Vacancy in the W. Empire. German King: HENRY THE FOWLER, 918-936

LEO, a Roman, the son of a certain Christopher, who was Primicerius of the Roman Church under Pope John VIII, is said to have been raised to the Roman see through the influence of Marozia. (*Vide* John X.) At the time of his elevation Leo was attached to the church of St. Susanna. Different authorities disagree as to the exact dates of his consecration and death, but it is certain that his pontificate lasted only about seven months. According to the "Liber Pontificalis," he was consecrated in May, and died in December 928. Very little is known concerning him. He addressed a letter to the bishops of Dalmatia, ordering them to obey Archbishop John, of Spoleto, to whom he sent the pallium, and also wrote to

Gregory, Bishop of the Croats, and certain other bishops, advising them to be content with their dioceses. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 453.) Leo VI is said to have been buried in St. Peter's.

CXXVII. STEPHEN VIII (VII), A.D. 929-931

German King, HENRY THE FOWLER, 918-936

STEPHEN, a Roman, the son of Teudemund, was Cardinal-priest of St. Anastasia at the time of his elevation to the Roman see, which took place probably in January 929. Although his pontificate lasted two years and one month, scarcely anything is known concerning his acts. Several letters of his are extant, conferring privileges on various monasteries. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, pp. 453-454.) He is said to have been the first Pope who shaved himself, and he ordered the clergy of Italy to do the same. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 190.) Pope Stephen is supposed to have been buried in St. Peter's.

CXXVIII. JOHN XI, A.D. 931-936

German King, HENRY THE FOWLER, 918-936

JOHN XI, who became Bishop of Rome in February or March 931, is said by some to have been the son of Marozia and Pope Sergius III. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 243.) John was twenty-five at the time of his elevation, and is described as a man of weak character, entirely destitute either of dignity or authority.

Shortly after John's consecration, Guido of Tuscany, the husband of Marozia, died. (*Vide* John X.) Hugh, King of Italy, the half-brother of Guido, then proposed to marry Marozia, and proceeded to Rome with a great army, probably in the expectation of obtaining the imperial crown. The marriage took place in the Castle of St. Angelo, but Hugh soon lost favour with the Romans through his own tyrannical behaviour, and also through the gluttony of his troops, who had encamped without the walls.

Alberic, the son of Marozia by her first marriage with Alberic Margrave of Camerino, was one day ordered to wait on Hugh with water to wash his hands. Performing the duty awkwardly, he spilled some of the water, and received a blow

in the face from the haughty King. The indignant youth immediately rushed out of the Castle, and placed himself at the head of the discontented Romans, who flocked to him from all quarters. They attacked the Castle of St. Angelo, and King Hugh only escaped by letting himself down from the fortress by a rope under cover of night. He hurried to his camp, and retired with his troops to Lombardy. Alberic then became ruler of the city, with the title of "Prince and Senator of all the Romans." His first act was to imprison his mother, Marozia, and to cause his half-brother, Pope John XI, to be confined in the Lateran Palace.

During the four remaining years of his pontificate Pope John continued a prisoner, although permitted to perform his sacred duties. Alberic deprived the Pope of all his temporal power, and even interfered in the ecclesiastical administration of distant churches. Although Hugh made more than one attempt to regain his lost dignity, he was unsuccessful.

Pope John XI died, still a prisoner, in January 936, and was buried in the Lateran Church.

John XI is recorded to have sent the pallium to Artold, Archbishop of Rheims, and to have given a charter to Odo, Bishop of Cluny, granting an abbacy to that monastery. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 454.)

CXXIX. LEO VII, A.D. 936-939

King of Germany, OTTO I, 936-973

LEO, a Roman, whose father's name is unknown, was elected Bishop of Rome by Alberic in January 936. (*Vide* John XI.) At the time of his elevation he was a priest of St. Sixtus, and, according to one acount, a Benedictine monk. Leo is described as a prelate of meek and yielding disposition, whose thoughts were fixed on the heavenly kingdom, and who was without earthly ambition. In the first year of this pontificate Henry the Fowler, King of Germany, died, and was succeeded by his son, Otto I, who was afterwards to play an important part in the history of the Church.

A letter is extant from Pope Leo VII, appointing Frederick, Archbishop of Mainz, his vicar in Germany, with power to reprimand all bishops, priests, deacons, and nobles who failed to do their duty. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 457.) After the death of Rudolf of Burgundy (936), the nobles of France

sent for Louis, son of Charles the Simple, called, because of his long residence in England, Louis d'Outremer, and caused him to be crowned King of France. In 936 Hugh, King of Italy, again appeared in arms before Rome. Pope Leo sent for the saintly Odo, Abbot of Cluny, and employed him to bring about a peace between Hugh and Alberic. A marriage was arranged between Alberic and Alda, daughter of Hugh.

A monastic revival was now initiated, due largely to the zeal of Odo, and also of Alberic, who took a deep interest in the reformation of the monasteries, and who transformed his own house on the Aventine into a dwelling for monks. Pope Leo and Alberic employed Odo to restore claustral discipline in several of the more important monasteries, including the Abbey of St. Paul, which had fallen into decay and been deserted. Odo introduced other monks there, placing at their head Baldwin, of Monte Cassino, a monastery which he had already reformed. For an account of the reforms introduced by Odo in the monasteries, see Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iv, pp. 310-316.

During this pontificate, the historian Frodoard, visited Rome, and was accorded a friendly reception by Pope Leo VII, to whom he afterwards dedicated an encomium in verse, praising him for his indifference to worldly honours. A letter is extant, dated 9th January 938, from Leo VII to Hugh, Abbot of St. Martin in Tours, in which the Pope severely censures that Abbot for permitting certain breaches of the monastic rule in his monastery.

Pope Leo VII died about the close of the year 939. According to one account, probably erroneous, he was buried in St. Peter's, but recent research has proved that from the time of John X it became customary to bury popes in the Lateran. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 240.)

CXXX. STEPHEN IX (VIII), A.D. 940-942

King of Germany, OTTO I, 936-973

STEPHEN, a Roman, whose father's name is unknown, was consecrated Bishop of Rome, probably in January 940. Although the "Liber Pontificalis" records him to have been a Roman, certain writers state that he was a German. This, however, is considered to be improbable.

Stephen is reported to have been elected by the partisans of Hugh King of Italy, and was therefore obnoxious to the party who favoured Alberic. (*Vide* John XI.) So bitter was the feeling against this unfortunate Pope, that the Romans are said to have seized him and mutilated his face in such a manner that he did not care to appear in public during the remainder of his pontificate, or to take any interest in public affairs.

Pope Stephen espoused the cause of Louis d'Outremer of France, who experienced great difficulty in maintaining his authority against the powerful nobles. (*Vide* Leo VII.) Stephen sent to France a Bishop named Damasus, as his legate, with letters to the nobles and people exhorting them to support the authority of Louis, especially against his most powerful enemy, Hugh the Great, Duke of the French. In a second letter, which Leo VII afterwards sent to the French nobles, he threatened them with excommunication, unless they rallied round Louis. It is said to have been due to the efforts of Pope Leo that before the end of 942, Louis was at peace with the nobles, and also with Otto of Germany, who had threatened to oppose him.

Hugh, son of Count Heribert of Vermandois (*vide* p. 191), who had been elected to the see of Rheims at the age of five, had been deposed by Rudolf of Provence, and Artold was installed in his place. In 940 Artold was driven out, although the pallium had been sent to him by John XI (*q.v.*). Pope Stephen now sent the pallium to Hugh, who had been reinstated in the see of Rheims.

During this pontificate, the civil war was renewed between Alberic, Prince and Senator of the Romans, and Hugh, King of Italy (*vide* John XI), but by the efforts of Odo, Abbot of Cluny, a reconciliation was again brought about between them. (*Vide* Leo VII.)

Pope Stephen IX died in October 942, and was most probably buried in the Lateran.

CXXXI. MARINUS II (or MARTIN III), A.D. 942-946

King of Germany, OTTO I, 936-973

MARINUS II, or Martin III, as he is called by some writers, a Roman, whose father's name is unknown, was raised by the influence of Alberic to the Apostolic see in October 942. At the time of his elevation, he was Cardinal of

St. Ciriacus. Although this Pope reigned for more than three years, very little is recorded concerning him, for without the authority of Alberic he did not dare to act. (*Vide* John XI.) He, however, showed himself zealous in furthering the reformation of the monasteries, which had been begun a few years previously by Odo, Abbot of Cluny. (*Vide* Leo VII.) Several decrees of this Pope are extant, granting privileges to different monasteries. A letter of his also exists, addressed to Scio, Bishop of Capua, in which that prelate is severely censured for alienating certain property belonging to a Benedictine monastery. Pope Marinus II died in May 946. The following interesting note concerning this Pope is taken from Father Mann's, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 223: "In the middle of the twelfth century, and seemingly by Otho, who was Bishop of Tivoli in 1160, a collection was made of the chief documents regarding that church. The quarto volume, into which it is formed, is remarkable for a number of illuminated miniatures with which it is adorned. It was presented to the Vatican archives by Mario Orsini, who was Bishop of Tivoli from 1624-1634, and was first completely edited by Bruzza. One of the miniatures represents Pope Marinus II, seated, and giving a privilege to Hubert, Bishop of Tivoli. The Pope is represented as clean shaven, and wearing the tonsure. He is clad in a red robe over which is a tunic of brick-red. A blue chasuble, edged with green lace, completes his costume. He wears the pallium on his shoulders. His feet, shod with red sandals, rest on a yellow cushion. The circular nimbus round his head shows that he was dead when the miniature was painted."

CXXXII. AGAPETUS II, A.D. 946-955

King of Germany, OTTO I, 936-973

AGAPETUS, a Roman, whose father's name has not been recorded, was consecrated Bishop of Rome, on 10th May 946. His pontificate of more than nine years was marked by important events in the history of Italy.

In 945 Berengar, Marquis of Ivrea, grandson of the Emperor Berengar, and husband of King Hugh's niece, took up arms against Hugh. King Hugh then resigned the crown of Italy to his popular son Lothair, and retired to Provence, where he died in 947. Although Lothair retained the title of

King, the real power in Italy passed into the hands of Berengar and his son Adalbert, who were supported by the nobles. In 950 Lothair died at Turin, poisoned, according to rumour, by Berengar and Adalbert, who then became Kings of Italy.

It is said that Berengar proposed to marry his son Adalbert to Adelaide, the young and beautiful widow of Lothair. On her refusal he caused her to be imprisoned, but she escaped, and made her way to the strong fortress of Canossa, afterwards famous in the time of Pope Gregory VII. At this juncture, Pope Agapetus, supported by the enemies of Berengar, is believed to have sent a message to Otto, King of Germany, inviting him to come to save Italy from the rule of the tyrants.

Otto arrived in Italy with a great army, swept the troops of Berengar before him, rescued the beautiful Adelaide, and married her at Pavia in October 951. Troubles in his own country prevented Otto from proceeding to Rome at that time, but he sent two envoys, the Bishops of Mainz and Chur, to Agapetus, at Rome. Alberic, Prince and Senator of the Romans, having been warned of the coming of these envoys refused to admit them to the city. (*Vide* John XI.) Before leaving Italy, Otto forced Berengar to do homage to him, as his vassal, for the Italian kingdom.

A council met at Ingelheim in the diocese of Cologne, in June 948, to settle a dispute which had long continued between Hugh and Artold, who had each at different times received the pallium from Rome, and been acknowledged as Archbishops of Rheims. (*Vide ante*, pp. 194, 196.) Agapetus was represented at this council by Marinus, Bishop of Polymartus. Over thirty bishops assembled, and Otto of Germany, and Louis d'Outremer of France were both present in person. The assembled bishops declared Artold to be lawful Bishop of Rheims, and sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Hugh, who had failed to appear. At this synod, Hugh the Great, Duke of the French, was also threatened with excommunication, if he did not acknowledge Louis d'Outremer of France as his lawful sovereign. (*Vide* Stephen IX.) The decrees of this council were afterwards confirmed at another council held in Rome by Pope Agapetus. This Pope confirmed to the see of Hamburg all the privileges granted to that see by his predecessors, and appointed Adalgar, Archbishop of Hamburg his vicar, with full power to ordain Bishops in Denmark, and neighbouring countries lately converted to Christianity. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 460.) Pope Agapetus is also recorded to have sent

the pallium to Bruno, brother of Otto, King of Germany. (*Vide ibid.*, p. 462.)

In 954 Alberic, Prince and Senator of the Romans, died in Rome. On feeling the approach of death, he caused the Roman nobles to swear a solemn oath on the shrine of St. Peter, that they would elect his son Octavian to the papal chair, after the death of Agapetus.

Pope Agapetus II died in December 955, and was buried in the Lateran.

CXXXIII. JOHN XII, A.D. 955-964

(LEO VIII, ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: OTTO I (The Great), 962-973

ON the death of Agapetus II, the Romans, mindful of their promise to Alberic, chose as Pope his son Octavian, who had become lord of Rome after the death of his father. Under Octavian, who took the name of John XII, the spiritual and temporal powers were once more united. The new pope is believed to have been only eighteen years of age at the time of his elevation to the Apostolic see, and the vicious and undisciplined youth soon showed his unfitness for the sacred office by plunging into unbridled licentiousness.

One of the first acts of John XII, after his consecration, was to raise an army and march with it in person against Pandulf, Prince of Capua, who for some reason not recorded had offended him. But Pandulf, with the assistance of an ally raised troops, and completely defeated the Pope.

Meantime Berengar and his son Adalbert, ruled Italy as tyrants, and occupied the States of the Church. (*Vide* Agapetus II.) A message was despatched by Pope John to Otto of Germany, offering him the imperial crown if he would come to Rome and drive out the tyrants. The princes and bishops of Italy also sent a similar invitation to King Otto.

Otto assembled a great army with which he set out for Italy. He advanced almost unopposed, the troops of Berengar and Adalbert everywhere giving way before him. After keeping the Christmas festival at Pavia, Otto entered Rome on 31st January 962. He was received with much honour by the youthful Pope and his clergy, and on 2nd February, Otto and Queen Adelaide were crowned Emperor and Empress in

St. Peter's. Thus, after a vacancy of nearly forty years, the Roman Empire was restored in the person of a German prince. Before the ceremony a solemn treaty was made between the Emperor and the Pope by which they agreed loyally to support each other.

A few days after his coronation, the Emperor Otto is said to have issued a Charter, in which he confirmed to the Roman Church all the possessions granted by Pepin and Charlemagne, but claimed in full his imperial rights, and decreed that papal consecrations should not take place without the sanction of the Emperor. Otto remained in Rome until 14th February, when he set out for the North, in order to proceed against Berengar, who had retired to a fortress near Montefeltro. The Emperor had no sooner left Rome than Pope John XII began to plot treacherously against him.

Although the Pope had sworn on the tomb of St. Peter to be true to Otto he now began to intrigue with Adalbert, who had taken refuge with the Saracens. On hearing rumours of the Pope's treachery and evil life, Otto seems at first to have treated the matter lightly. He, however, caused the charges to be investigated, and Pope John is said to have reproached Otto for failing to restore the States of the Church. Otto replied that he had not yet conquered them from the usurpers.

Soon afterwards news reached Otto that Adalbert had returned to Rome, where he had been honourably received by the Pope and the Romans. The indignant Emperor immediately hastened to Rome with an army, arriving in the autumn of 963. On his approach Pope John and Adalbert fled from the city carrying with them the plundered wealth of St. Peter's.

On 6th November 963 Otto assembled an ecclesiastical council in St. Peter's in order to examine the charges brought against the Pope.

Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, who was in the Emperor's suite has left a full account of this council, but his statements have been found to be in many cases untrustworthy. He records that Pope John was accused of keeping a number of mistresses, of causing clerics who had offended him to be cruelly mutilated, of having ordained a bishop in a stable, of drinking wine in honour of the devil, of gambling, and of constantly neglecting to say matins and vespers. The bishops present are said to have taken a solemn oath in witness of the truth of these accusations.

Otto then sent a letter to the Pope, who was in hiding in the woods in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, imploring him to come

to Rome to clear himself from the accusations, which he says are such as would have disgraced a stage-player. To this letter the Pope sent the following brief reply written in very bad Latin: "John servant of the servants of God, to all bishops. We hear that you wish to elect another Pope. If you do so I excommunicate you all in the name of Almighty God, that you may not have the power to ordain any other, or even to say mass."

As John failed to appear in answer to a second summons sent by the Emperor, the council reassembled, and after deposing him elected to the see of St. Peter, Leo, son of John the chief notary. Leo belonged to the region of Rome known as Clivus Argentarii, and being a layman at the time of his elevation was made to pass through all the clerical ranks at once, in succession, and hastily consecrated by Sico, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia. He took the name of Leo VIII, but as the deposition of John XII by Otto I was illegal, Leo is looked on by the majority of Catholic writers as an antipope.

Otto kept the Christmas festival of 963 in Rome, and while he was still there a rebellion broke out on 2nd January 964, at the instigation of certain emissaries, sent by the deposed Pope, John XII. The revolt was quickly crushed by the imperial troops, and on the following day the ringleaders appeared before the Emperor to sue for mercy. The antipope, Leo VIII, is said to have interceded on their behalf, and Otto, after receiving hostages for their good behaviour, generously pardoned them all.

A few days later the Emperor again set out for the north against Adalbert, having been persuaded to leave the hostages, behind. Shortly after his departure the deposed Pope was suddenly brought back, and reinstated in his dignity. Leo VIII fled to seek the protection of the Emperor, who was then at Camerino.

On 26th February 964, Pope John XII assembled a council in St. Peter's. Eleven of the sixteen bishops present had previously signed his deposition. John solemnly condemned the synod which had deposed him, excommunicated Leo, and degraded from his clerical rank Sico, Bishop of Ostia, who had consecrated the antipope. He also took his revenge on certain other clerics by punishing them with mutilation.

Meantime the return of the Emperor to Rome had been delayed, but he was preparing to proceed against the offenders when news reached him of the Pope's death (14th May 964).

There is a legend that Pope John died from a blow struck him by the devil; from the circumstances of the case, it seems probable that the blow was struck by some one whom he had wronged. Pope John XII was buried in the Lateran. A number of letters from this Pope are extant granting privileges to various monasteries. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, pp. 465-466.)

CXXXIV. BENEDICT V (ANTIPOPE? A.D. 963-965)

(LEO VIII, ANTIPOPE? 963-965)

Emperor: OTTO I, 962-973

AFTER the death of John XII (*q.v.*), the Romans elected to the Apostolic see the Cardinal-deacon Benedict, son of John, a Roman. Benedict, had been record-keeper of the Roman Church, was a prelate of blameless life, and so highly distinguished for his learning that he had acquired the title of "Grammaticus." As he was consecrated without the consent of the Emperor, who still adhered to the Pope of his own choice, Leo VIII, some writers regard him as an antipope. (*Vide* John XII.)

On hearing of the election of Benedict V, Otto set out for Rome with his army, bringing Leo VIII with him. The inhabitants prepared to resist him by force, and Otto laid siege to Rome. Famine soon obliged the Romans to surrender, and the gates were opened to Otto on 23rd June 964. The Emperor ordered a synod of bishops to assemble in the Lateran Palace, and the trembling Pope Benedict, dressed in his pontifical robes, was brought before them for judgement. The Cardinal-deacon, addressing Benedict, inquired by what right he had dared usurp the Apostolic see in the lifetime of Pope Leo VIII. "I have sinned, have mercy upon me!" Benedict is recorded to have said. The kind-hearted Emperor, Otto, is said to have begged with tears that the assembled prelates would be merciful to the penitent.

Benedict was stripped of his pontifical robes, and he was degraded to the rank of a deacon; his crozier being broken in the sight of the assembled bishops. Leo VIII was then restored to the papal chair, apparently with the consent of the clergy and people. When Otto left Rome he took the deposed Pope Benedict V with him to Germany, where he lived under the

protection of Adaldag, Archbishop of Hamburg, who treated him with much respect and consideration. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 470.)

On the death of Leo VIII, in March 965, the Romans are said to have sent a message to Otto begging that Benedict V, the Pope of their own choice, might be restored to the papal see. But Otto refused to grant their request, and Benedict V died at Hamburg a few months later. According to one account his death took place in July 965. He was buried in the cathedral of Hamburg, but his remains were afterwards conveyed to Rome, by order of the Emperor Otto III.

Father Mann remarks that it is difficult to pronounce definitely with regard to the exact status of Leo VIII, after the deposition of Benedict. If it is true, as Liutprand of Cremona declares, that Benedict V acquiesced in his own deposition, then Leo VIII must be regarded as lawful pope from 23rd July 964 until his death. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 280.)

CXXXV. JOHN XIII, A.D. 965-972

Emperor: OTTO I, 962-973

ON 1st October 965 John, Bishop of Narni, the nominee of the Emperor Otto I, was consecrated Bishop of Rome in the presence of the imperial envoys, Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, and Otgar, Bishop of Speyer. The new Pope, who was the son of John, a Roman, is believed to have been descended on his mother's side from the famous Theodora, wife of the senator Theophylact. (*Vide* p. 190.) He had been educated in the Lateran Palace, and in the Schola Cantorum, and had passed through all the clerical ranks, acquiring great fame for his learning.

John XIII, trusting to the Emperor's support, attempted to curb the pretensions of the anti-imperial party, but it proved too strong for him. A conspiracy was formed against him, and on 16th December 965 he was seized and confined in a dungeon in the Castle of St. Angelo. From thence he was subsequently conveyed to a fortress in the Campagna, but succeeded in escaping from thence and sought the protection of Pandulf, Prince of Capua.

In Capua Pope John remained in exile for nearly a year. In the autumn of 966 the Emperor Otto came to Italy. On

hearing of his approach the Romans are said to have hastily recalled the exiled Pope, who re-entered the City on 14th November 966. Otto arrived in Rome shortly afterwards, and proceeded to punish the leaders of the rebellion with the greatest severity. Twelve of the city tribunes were hanged, others were blinded, and many driven into exile, after the most ignominious treatment. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 364.)

The Emperor left Rome in the beginning of the year 967, and after visiting several places in Tuscany, proceeded with Pope John XIII to Ravenna, where an ecclesiastical council was held. This council was attended by most of the Italian bishops, and by some from France and Germany. Decrees are said to have been passed by the Emperor Otto restoring to the Pope the territory of Ravenna, and several other places granted to the see of St. Peter by Pepin and Charlemagne, but which had been seized by Berengar and Adalbert. At this same council the Pope also confirmed all the privileges granted by Edgar, King of England, to the monastery of Glastonbury (*vide* William of Malmesbury, "English Chronicle," ii, 8, ed. Bohn, pp. 151-155), and, at King Edgar's request, granted certain liberties and privileges to the monks of St. Peter's, Westminster, permitting them to elect their own abbots. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 471.)

At the request of the Emperor, John XIII founded a new archiepiscopal see at Magdeburg, and Adalbert, the first Archbishop, was made primate for all Germany. Several new German bishoprics were also created by John XIII, at the request of Otto.

On Christmas Day, 967, Otto II, then aged thirteen, was crowned by Pope John XIII as partner with his father in the Empire. The Emperor Otto I now attempted to arrange a marriage between his son and Theophania, daughter of the late Eastern Emperor, Romanus II, and sent an embassy to the reigning Emperor, Nicephorus Phocas, at Constantinople. The envoys were, however, coldly received, Nicephorus declaring that Otto I had no right to the title of Emperor, and was in reality a usurper.

About a year after the departure of the envoys, however, Nicephorus was murdered, and his successor Zimisces, desirous of making peace with the Western Emperor, consented to the marriage of Theophania with Otto II. In 972 the princess, under the escort of Geron, Archbishop of Cologne, two bishops, and several counts and nobles, landed in Italy. She entered

Rome on 14th April, and Pope John XIII, after crowning her Empress, united her in marriage with Otto II who was then seventeen years of age—the princess being about a year younger.

During this pontificate the inhabitants of Poland were converted to Christianity, and several bishoprics were established in that country. Some writers state that John XIII was the first to introduce the custom of christening church bells, for he christened one in the Lateran church, giving it the name of John the Baptist. This is, however, disputed, other writers declaring that the custom dated from the time of Charlemagne.

Pope John XIII died on 6th September 972, and is supposed to have been buried in the church of St. Paul, where his epitaph, quoted by Duchesne, was afterwards found. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," vol. ii, ed. Duchesne, p. 254 *note*.)

CXXXVI. BENEDICT VI, A.D. 972-974

(BONIFACE VII, ANTIPOPE)

Emperors: OTTO I to 973; OTTO II, 973-983

BENEDICT, Cardinal-deacon of the church of St. Theodore, a Roman, the son of Hildebrand, was elected Bishop of Rome in September 972. Owing to the necessity of waiting for the Emperor's sanction, his consecration did not take place until January of the following year. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 477.)

On 7th May 973 the great Emperor Otto I died, and was succeeded by his son, Otto II, then aged eighteen. The youthful emperor was prevented by foreign wars from maintaining the strong rule of his father in Italy. Consequently the national party in Rome rebelled against the imperial authority. The consul Crescentius, or Cencius, and the deacon Boniface Franco, a Roman, the son of Ferrucius, conspired with others against Pope Benedict VI. In June 974 the Pope was seized in the Lateran Palace and conveyed to the Castle of St. Angelo, where he was imprisoned. Franco then usurped the papal chair, taking the name of Boniface VII.

On hearing of this rebellion Otto II despatched Count Sico to Rome, but before he arrived, Boniface had caused Pope Benedict VI to be strangled by a priest named Stephen. Imperial troops under Count Sico regained possession of the Castle of St. Angelo, and hanged Crescentius, but the antipope Boni-

face succeeded in escaping with the treasures of the church, and fled to Constantinople, where he found protection. It is thought probable from this that the influence of the Greek Emperor had supported his usurpation. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 385.)

Very little is known of the acts of the unfortunate Pope Benedict VI. He is recorded to have granted privileges to several churches and monasteries, including the monastery of Blandin, between the Scheldt and the Lys, which, at the request of Lothair, King of the Franks, he took under his special protection. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 479.)

CXXXVII. BENEDICT VII, A.D. 974-983

Emperor: OTTO II, 973-983

CERTAIN historians insert in the list of the Popes, the name of Domnus, or Donus II, after that of Benedict VI. But neither the "Liber Pontificalis" nor any of the older catalogues make any mention of such a Pope, and it is now generally agreed that he had no existence. Jaffé holds that the error arose through the mention of Benedict VII in the catalogues as "Domnus" or "Dominus" of Sutri, and Duchesne gives a similar explanation. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 479; "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 256 *note.*)

After the death of Benedict VI, the Emperor Otto II desired Majolus of Cluny, a prelate much esteemed for his sanctity, to accept the papal tiara. But although he was repeatedly pressed to do so with great earnestness, he steadfastly declined the dignity.

Benedict, a Roman, the son of David, was then chosen as Bishop of Rome, and was consecrated in October 974, in the presence of the imperial envoys. At the time of his elevation Benedict was Bishop of Sutri. His first act after his consecration was to assemble a council in the Lateran church, and to excommunicate the antipope Boniface VII, the murderer of his predecessor. (*Vide* Benedict VI.) Benedict VII reigned nine years, but very little is known of his acts. Although the details have not reached us it appears that he suffered a certain amount of persecution from the followers of the antipope Boniface, who during the whole of his pontificate remained in exile at Constantinople. (*Vide post*, p. 208.)

Pope Benedict showed himself zealous in furthering the

monastic reform begun some years previously under Odo of Cluny. (*Vide ante* p. 195.) He restored the monastery of SS. Boniface and Alexis on the Aventine (*vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 388), and granted privileges to a large number of monasteries and churches. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, pp. 480-484.) Benedict VII is recorded to have sent the pallium to Willisgis, Archbishop of Mainz, and to have granted him the first place in consecrating the King.

In 981 the Emperor Otto II undertook a campaign against the Greeks and Saracens of Southern Italy. In response to an urgent summons from the Pope to come and help him against his persecutors, Otto also visited Rome at this time, and kept the Easter festival of 981 in the city. In his train were his mother Adelaide, his sister Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg, his wife Theophania, with her infant son (afterwards Otto III), Duke Hugh Capet of France, King Conrad of Burgundy, and several other distinguished princes and nobles. Hugh Capet, who had come in the hope of persuading Otto to join him in an alliance against his lawful sovereign, Lothair, King of France, took the opportunity while in Rome to obtain from the Pope certain exemptions, and freedom from any but the papal jurisdiction for his monastery of St. Valery-sur-Somme. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 320.) The Emperor met with little success in his campaign against the Saracens, and in July 982 suffered a severe defeat at Stilo. He was afterwards taken captive on board a Greek vessel, but escaped by leaping into the sea.

At a Diet held at Verona, in June 983, the German nobles agreed to elect the young son of Otto as King of Germany and Italy. Otto was preparing for another campaign in Southern Italy, when news reached him of the death of Pope Benedict VII, and he hastened to Rome in order to be present at the election of a new Pope. According to the "Liber Pontificalis," Benedict VII died in October 983, but his epitaph states that he died in July of that year. He founded the monastery of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (*vide* Sylvester II), and an inscription in the ancient basilica records his burial there.

CXXXVIII. JOHN XIV, A.D. 983-984

(BONIFACE VII, ANTIPOPE)

Emperors: OTTO II to December 983; OTTO III, 983-1002

PETER, Bishop of Pavia, and a native of that place, the imperial Chancellor, was consecrated Bishop of Rome, probably in November 983. On his elevation he took the name of John, "out of respect to the Prince of the Apostles."

Very shortly after the consecration of Pope John, the Emperor Otto II died in Rome at the early age of twenty-eight (7th December 983). On his death-bed he made his confession to the Pope, and received absolution in the presence of the bishops and cardinals. He was buried near the Oratory of the Blessed Virgin, in the atrium of St. Peter's, and his tomb may still be seen in the crypt of that church. His successor was the child Otto III, then scarcely four years old.

The antipope, Boniface VII, took advantage of the confusion which followed the Emperor's death to return to Rome (*vide* Benedict VI), after an absence of nine years, and to declare himself the lawful Pope. In April 984 Boniface caused John XIV to be seized and confined in a dungeon in the Castle of St. Angelo. There he remained until August of the same year, when he was either starved to death, or poisoned by order of Boniface. Pope John XIV is recorded to have confirmed certain privileges to Adalbert, Archbishop of Magdeburg, and to have sent the pallium to Alo, Archbishop of Benevento and Siponto. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 484.) He also corresponded with the famous Gerbert, Abbot of Bobbio (afterwards Sylvester II), who was preparing to visit Rome, when he heard of the imprisonment of the Pope.

The usurper Boniface VII held the Roman see for nearly a year, until his death, which was probably due to violence, in July 985. So intense was the hatred felt towards this murderer of two popes, that after his death his body was dragged through the streets, exposed to the insults of the people. It was afterwards thrown, covered with wounds, under the statue of Marcus Aurelius, which then stood in front of the Lateran, and left there until the following morning, when it was given Christian burial either by some of the more compassionate clergy, or by servants from the papal palace.

Certain later chroniclers insert after the name of the antipope Boniface VII, that of John, the son of Robert, whom they erroneously state to have held the Roman see for four months. Father Mann explains the error by showing that these chroniclers had divided the pontificate of John XIV into two parts, and assigned the period of four months which he spent in prison to another John, who never existed. The insertion of the name of this John in the catalogues has caused some confusion in the reckoning of the popes named John, although it was not until the thirteenth century that the error affected the correct order. In 1276 the Pope who ought to have been called John XX took the name of John XXI. The error had therefore probably crept into the catalogues drawn up after the death of John XIX. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. iv, p. 331.)

CXXXIX. JOHN XV, A.D. 985-996

OTTO III, King of Germany and Italy to 996; Emperor, 996-1002

JOHN, a Roman, the son of a presbyter named Leo, was consecrated Bishop of Rome, probably in August 985. He belonged to the quarter of Rome known as Gallina Alba, and was at the time of his elevation Cardinal-priest of S. Vitale. Pope John was the nominee of the German or imperial party, and was consequently harassed during the whole of his pontificate by the national faction led by Crescentius, a descendant of the patrician of that name, who had supported the antipope Boniface VII. (*Vide ante*, p. 205.) The "Liber Pontificalis" records that John XV was trained in arms, and had also composed many books. He disliked the clergy, and was in turn hated by them for his avarice, and because all the wealth which he could seize was handed over by him to his relatives. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 260.) It is believed to have been at the request of Pope John that the Empress Theophania, widow of Otto II, visited Rome in the year 989. She was honourably received in the city, and is said to have made a treaty with Crescentius by which peace was restored between the opposed parties. It is probable that she also prevailed on the Romans to acknowledge the imperial rights of her son Otto III. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," vol. iii, p. 402.)

Theophania celebrated the Christmas festival of 989 in

Rome, and left in the spring of 990. Her death occurred in the following year, 15th June 991. In 991 Pope John XV sent the Bishop of Trèves as his legate to England for the purpose of putting an end to the quarrel between Ethelred, King of England, and Richard, Duke of Normandy. After reading the admonitory letter brought by Leo from the Pope, Ethelred consented to make peace with Richard, and the Treaty of Rouen was accordingly signed on 1st March 991. (*Vide* William of Malmesbury, "English Chronicle," ii, 10, ed. Bohn, p. 171; Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 487.)

At a synod held in the Lateran on 31st January 993, John solemnly canonized Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, this being the first instance of a canonization made by a pope. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 488.) Pope John is also recorded to have granted a number of privileges to churches and monasteries.

A serious dispute arose during this pontificate regarding the Archbishopric of Rheims. Hugh Capet, who, in 987, had usurped the throne of France, had appointed Arnulf, half-brother of Charles, Duke of Lorraine, with whom he was then at war, to the see of Rheims. Six months after his elevation Arnulf betrayed the city of Rheims to Charles, and was consequently deposed at a synod by order of King Hugh. Gerbert, formerly Abbot of Bobbio, and afterwards Pope Sylvester II (*q.v.*), was then elected to the see of Rheims. Pope John XV, however, espoused the cause of Arnulf, and ordered him to be reinstated. In June 993 Pope John sent Leo, Abbot of St. Boniface, to assemble a synod at Mouson, in the diocese of Rheims. At this synod Gerbert was deposed, and Arnulf reinstated. Gerbert then left France and sought the protection of Otto III, who made him Archbishop of Ravenna.

After the death of the Empress Theophania, Crescentius seized the Castle of St. Angelo, and took the government of the city into his own hands. According to one account he allowed no envoys to have access to the Pope until bribes were offered to himself. In 995 Pope John XV fled from Rome, and sought the protection of Hugh Margrave of Tuscany, who was attached to the German interests. From thence John sent messengers to the youthful Otto, begging him to come to Rome with an army to protect the Church. Otto, then aged fifteen, proceeded to obey the summons, and having collected a great army, crossed the Alps in the spring of 996.

At the news of Otto's approach Crescentius hastily recalled Pope John to Rome, where he was accorded an honourable

reception. Otto delayed his arrival in Rome in order to celebrate Easter at Pavia, and while there news reached him of the Pope's death. John XV is said to have died of a fever either in March or April 996.

CXL. GREGORY V, A.D. 996-999

(JOHN XVI, ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: OTTO III, 996-1002

OTTO III, the young King of Germany and Italy, was on his way to Rome when news reached him of the death of Pope John XV. At Ravenna Otto was met by a deputation from the nobles and clergy of Rome, who requested him to nominate a prelate for the Roman see. Otto at once named his cousin and chaplain, Bruno, son of Duke Otto of Carinthia, a great-grandson through his grandmother, Liutgarda, of the Emperor Otto I. The Pope-elect, who was only twenty-four years of age, was sent to Rome by Otto under the escort of Willisgis, Archbishop of Mainz, and Hildebald of Worms, and was joyfully received by the Romans. At his consecration, which took place on 3rd May 996, he took the name of Gregory V. He is said to have possessed a fiery temper, but was distinguished for his charity to the poor and for his learning, which included a knowledge of the French, Teutonic, and Latin languages, as well as of the debased Latin then spoken in Italy. One of his first acts was to crown as Emperor the young Otto III, who had followed him to Rome. The ceremony took place in St. Peter's on 21st May 996. At the time of his coronation Otto was not quite sixteen. Gregorovius, in a striking passage, pictures the two fair-haired Saxon boys, Pope and Emperor, when they found themselves alone, swearing eternal friendship, and forming visionary schemes for universal dominion, or for the benefit of the human race. "But the world," he continues, "offers problems beyond the grasp of enthusiastic boys. The dream begotten of Roman inspiration scarcely lasted four months. In three years the young Pope, in six the young Emperor were no more." (*Vide* "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 412.)

Three days after the coronation Otto and Gregory assembled a council in St. Peter's at which Crescentius, the leader of the

national party, and other rebellious Romans, were summoned to appear, and were condemned to exile. (*Vide* John XV.) Otto, at the request of the Pope, unwisely consented to pardon Crescentius, who was allowed to remain in Rome with the rank of a private citizen.

No sooner had Otto left Rome with his army than Crescentius again intrigued with the Romans against the Pope. Gregory was obliged to leave Rome, and hastened to Northern Italy, where he had summoned a council to meet at Pavia. At this council Gregory solemnly excommunicated Crescentius, and issued a decree commanding Robert, King of France, to put away his wife, Bertha, who, according to the canons, was related to him by ties of blood. Robert did not, however, obey the Pope in this matter until three years later. At the same synod decrees were passed by the Pope concerning several churches in France.

Meantime Crescentius had elected an antipope in Rome. His choice fell on Philagathus, Bishop of Placentia, a native of Calabria, which was then subject to the Greek Emperor. At the time of his usurpation the antipope, who took the name of John XVI, had recently returned from Constantinople, whither he had been sent on an embassy by Otto III, and where he had won favour with the Empress Theophania. He is said to have acquired great wealth, and to have agreed with Crescentius to administer the spiritual affairs while the latter directed the temporal.

On hearing of this defiance of his authority, the Emperor Otto III had no sooner terminated his campaign against the Slavs, than he again set out for Italy at the head of a carefully chosen army of Germans and Italians. At the news of his approach the antipope John XVI fled from Rome, but was pursued and captured either by the imperial troops or by the partisans of Gregory V. He was deprived of his nose, ears, eyes and tongue, and in this condition was brought back to Rome and thrown into the cell of a monastery.

In February 998 Otto arrived in Rome, bringing Gregory V with him. He found the gates open, Crescentius having shut himself into the Castle of St. Angelo. Otto held a council in Rome, at which the mutilated antipope appeared and was degraded from his dignity. He was afterwards treated with the greatest ignominy. His miserable existence is said to have dragged on until the year 1013, when he died in the monastery of Fulda. The Emperor Otto then besieged the Castle of

St. Angelo, and on 29th April 998 Crescentius was obliged to capitulate. Otto ordered him to be executed along with twelve of his supporters, and his body was afterwards hung from a gallows erected on Monte Mario. At the request of the Emperor Otto, Pope Gregory granted privileges to a number of German monasteries, and several synods were held for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, pp. 490-494.) Before leaving Rome the young Emperor re-established order in the city and set up an imperial tribunal.

In this pontificate, Ælfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, came to Rome to receive the pallium, and also to consult Pope Gregory about replacing the secular clergy of Canterbury Cathedral by monks, in accordance with the reform of St. Dunstan. (*Vide* "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," ed. Bohn, p. 392.) That reform was accordingly carried out. Pope Gregory V also granted the pallium to Gerbert, Archbishop of Ravenna, afterwards Sylvester II. (*Vide ante*, p. 210.) After leaving Rome the Emperor put down a rebellion in Caere and restored discipline in the abbey of Farfa in the Sabina. In 998 the abbot of Farfa was brought to trial in Rome on a charge of holding certain churches with their revenues which did not belong to his monastery. He was, however, acquitted. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iii, pp. 438-443.)

In February 999 the young Pope, Gregory V, was suddenly cut off in the flower of his age—poisoned, according to rumour. He was buried in St. Peter's near the tomb of the Emperor Otto II.

CXLI. SYLVESTER II, A.D. 999-1003

Emperors: OTTO III, 996-1002; HENRY II, 1002-1024

ONE of the most fascinating and mysterious personalities in papal history is that of the scholarly prelate, chosen to fill the see of Peter on the death of Gregory V. Gregorovius describes Sylvester II in Rome as "like a solitary torch in the darkness of the night." (*Vide* "History of the City of Rome," vol. iii, p. 510.) Mr. Roland Allan's Lothian Prize Essay on Sylvester II, published in the "English Historical Review," vol. vii, 1892, gives probably the most interesting account of this Pope hitherto published in English. Several modern biographies,

exist, however, written by French authors, on this the first of their countrymen to occupy the papal chair.

Gerbert, a Frenchman of humble birth, the son of Agilbert, was born in the province of Aquitaine, probably near Aurillac, in Auvergne, about the year 945. He received his education at the Benedictine monastery of St. Gerauld, at Aurillac, where he afterwards became a monk. About the year 967 Borel, Count of Barcelona, came on a pilgrimage to this monastery, and on his return to Spain Gerbert accompanied him, in order to study the arts, in which the schools of that country were proficient. Legends relate that during his three years' residence in Spain, Gerbert gave himself up to the study of the black arts, then taught in certain Arabic schools, and thus acquired the knowledge which afterwards made him famous as a magician. More reliable accounts, however, state that the study to which he chiefly devoted himself was mathematics, and the extraordinary skill which he acquired in that and kindred branches of science caused him to be looked on with suspicion by the ignorant of that age.

In 970 Borel, having occasion to visit Rome, took Gerbert with him. There the learned monk soon attracted the notice of the Emperor Otto I, who recommended him to Adalberon, Archbishop of Rheims. After teaching for some years in the schools of that city, Gerbert was made abbot of the famous monastery of St. Columban, at Bobbio, not far from Pavia. Although this had once been one of the richest abbeys in Italy, its revenues had been alienated by the improvidence of abbots or the greed of nobles, and Gerbert was distressed by the poverty of his monks. The nobles also harassed him by their intrigues, as he refused to ratify their claims to the lands which they had usurped from the abbey. On the death of Otto II in 983, Gerbert, being no longer able to maintain his position at Bobbio, fled to Rome, and later returned to Rheims. There he remained for several years as a teacher in the schools, which became through his fame the most renowned in Christendom. Prince Robert of France and the young Otto III were among his pupils. Grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, arithmetic, music, astronomy, geometry, were the subjects he taught, and he was strongly opposed to the tendency introduced by Odo of Cluny to reject the classics, the study of which he held to be an essential part of education. Views so much in advance of his age would have been alone sufficient to account for the strange tales afterwards invented concern-

ing him, and his introduction of instruments as aids to the teaching of arithmetic, astronomy and geometry, served further to impress the mind of the superstitious. It is related that he made a set of globes, a clock, and a hydraulic organ, "in which the air escaping in a surprising manner by the force of heated water, fills the cavity of the instrument, and the brazen pipes emit modulated tones through the multifarious apertures." He also constructed an astrolabe, concerning which he wrote a dialogue.

On the death of Adalberon, Archbishop of Rheims, Gerbert declared that that prelate had nominated him on his death-bed to the vacant see. Hugh Capet, King of France, however, bestowed the see on Arnulf, natural brother of Charles, Duke of Lorraine. (*Vide ante*, p. 210.) Six months later, Arnulf, convicted of treachery, was deposed, and Gerbert was elected Archbishop of Rheims. The cause of Arnulf was, however, espoused by Pope John XV (*q.v.*), and at a synod held at Mouson, Gerbert was deposed, and Arnulf reinstated.

After his deposition Gerbert withdrew to Germany, where he enjoyed the favour and protection of the young Emperor Otto III, by whom in 998 he was made Archbishop of Ravenna. A year later, on the death of Gregory V, Gerbert was promoted to the papal chair. At his consecration, which took place on 2nd April 999, he took the name of Sylvester II, probably with the thought that he might be to the Emperor Otto III what his namesake had been to Constantine the Great.

The boy Emperor, Otto III, completely captivated by the fatal charm of Italy, had determined to make Rome his home. He appears to have conceived the idea of restoring all the ancient greatness of the Roman Empire, and into his schemes Pope Sylvester, although many years his senior, entered with generous enthusiasm.

The copy of a decree, said to have been issued by Otto III, exists in which he declares Rome to be the capital of the world and the Roman Church the mother of all churches. In this decree, while he denounces the Donation of Constantine as prodigal and unwise, and declares that emperors have the full right to elect popes, he at the same time grants eight districts (the names of which are given) to the Roman see. Modern critics, however, reject this decree as spurious. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. v, p. 71.) Otto III showed the greatest zeal in founding churches and monasteries in different parts of his empire. With his

consent, Pope Sylvester sent to Stephen, King of Hungary, a royal crown, and the title "Apostolic," as a reward from St. Peter for the conversion of Hungary.

Several modern editions of the letters of Pope Sylvester II have been published. In one of his letters he exhorts all the faithful to assist in rescuing Jerusalem and the holy places from the hands of the infidels. (*Vide ibid.*, p. 500.) Some writers have held this letter to be equivalent to a summons to a crusade. Certain modern authorities, however, including Mr. Roland Allan in his Essay, to which reference has already been made, state that this letter was only an appeal for alms, and that it was probably written during his residence at Bobbio.

In 1001 Pope Sylvester interfered in a dispute which had long continued between Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim, and his metropolitan Willisgis, Archbishop of Mainz. Sylvester espoused the cause of Bernward, but the matter remained unsettled until after the close of this pontificate. (*Vide* Jaffé, *ibid.*, p. 498.)

The boyish dreams of the Emperor Otto III were destined to be of short duration. He was compelled to quell by force of arms rebellions not only in Rome, but in different parts of Italy. On some of these expeditions Sylvester II accompanied him, and was with him when, at the early age of twenty-two, broken-hearted and disillusioned, he died in a lonely fortress at Paterno, in Campania, on 22nd January 1002. Rumour attributed his death to poison, which was said to have been administered by Stephania, widow of Crescentius, out of revenge for the death of her husband. (*Vide* Gregory V.)

It must have been with a heavy heart that Pope Sylvester returned alone to Rome, where for another year he succeeded in maintaining his position. Then to him also death came, on 12th May 1003. He was buried in the church of St. John Lateran.

In the middle ages scientific knowledge and attainments greatly in advance of the time were almost invariably attributed to dealings with the devil, and the memory of Pope Sylvester did not escape this imputation. Like Friar Bacon, he was credited with the possession of a brazen head, which told him whatsoever he asked of it. He was told that he would live until he celebrated mass in Jerusalem, but the prophecy, it is said, was unexpectedly fulfilled by his seizure with a fatal illness when he happened to officiate at Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme. A similar legend was repeated of Henry IV of England. It

was also stated that by his own desire his body, after death, was hewn in pieces and taken to the Lateran in a cart. It was afterwards declared that his tomb sweated drops of water whenever the death of a pope was approaching. Legends such as these, first promulgated by Cardinal Benno, who lived in the time of Gregory VII (1073-80), are repeated in a fifteenth century addition to the "Liber Pontificalis." They were also credited by William of Malmesbury (see "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 263, and William of Malmesbury, Bohn, p. 175).

In 1648 the tomb was opened and the body of Pope Sylvester was found entire, dressed in full papal robes, with ring and staff. On exposure to the air it crumbled into dust, which gave out a sweet odour from the spices with which the body had been embalmed. (*Vide* Mr. Roland Allan's Essay.)

CXLII. JOHN XVII, A.D. 1003

King of Germany: HENRY of Bavaria, 1002-1024

SICCO, a Roman, whose father's name has not been recorded, was chosen to succeed Sylvester II in the Roman see in June 1003. The death of Otto III had left the imperial throne vacant, and his successor, Henry of Bavaria, had been elected King of Germany, while Ardoin, Marquis of Ivrea, was chosen king by the Italians. The nobles of the Italian national party accordingly again seized the opportunity of usurping the chief power. Sicco is said to have been the nominee of John Crescentius, son of the patrician of that name, who was executed in the pontificate of Gregory V (*q.v.*).

The chosen pontiff, who took the name of John XVII,[1] is recorded to have been married before he took orders, and had three sons who all became priests. Nothing is known of the acts of this prelate, who died after a pontificate of six months. His death is generally stated to have occurred in December 1003.

CXLIII. JOHN XVIII, A.D. 1004-1009

King of Germany: HENRY of Bavaria, 1002-1024

PHASINUS, cardinal of St. Peter's (probably ad Vincula), son of Ursus, a presbyter, and whose mother's name was Stephania, was elevated to the see of Rome after the death of

[1] John XVI was an antipope, *vide* p. 212.

John XVII. It seems probable that he was the nominee of the national party, which was headed by John Crescentius. (*Vide* John XVII.) His consecration took place in January 1004, when he took the name of John XVIII.

Under this pope a temporary concord was re-established between the churches of Rome and Constantinople. Sergius the patriarch consented to recognize John XVIII as universal bishop, and his name was placed on the diptychs of the church of Constantinople.

The Saracens continued to ravage Italy during this pontificate, and laid waste the coast from Pisa to Rome. Plague and famine added to the general distress.

In a letter addressed to Benedict, Bishop of Portus, Pope John granted to that bishop and to his successors part of a field, near which is a place called "the Cursed Pool" (*stagnellum maledictum*), where with his "apostolic benediction" salt pits had been constructed. (*Vide* Epistle V, "Patrologiae Cursus Completus," ed. Migne, vol. 139, p. 1482.)

Very little is known concerning the acts of Pope John XVIII, and it is supposed that he was too much under the authority of Crescentius to do anything worthy of record. Some records state that before the close of his pontificate, John XVIII abdicated the papal chair and retired to the monastery of St. Paul in Rome. The authenticity of this story, however, appears to be doubtful. He died in June 1009. According to one account he was buried in the Lateran church, according to another in St. Peter's, where an epitaph was afterwards placed to his memory.

CXLIV. SERGIUS IV, A.D. 1009-1012

King of Germany: HENRY of Bavaria, 1014-1024

IN July 1009, Peter, Bishop of Albano, the son of a Roman shoemaker named Peter, was consecrated Bishop of Rome. The new pope, who took the name of Sergius IV, is said to have been a prelate of blameless life, and to have possessed a remarkably genial and sympathetic disposition. For some reason not recorded he was surnamed "Os Porci," or "Hog's Snout." (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 267.)

During this pontificate news reached Rome that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem had been razed to the ground by order of the Caliph of Egypt. A famous bull, of

doubtful authenticity, is attributed to Pope Sergius, in which he calls on the Italians, Venetians, and Genoese to join with the people of all lands in equipping a fleet of a thousand vessels to proceed against the infidels. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 504.)

Father H. K. Mann records the story that Pope Sergius IV sought help against the tyranny of Crescentius from the famous Fulk the Black, Count of Anjou, who happened to pass through Rome at this time on a pilgrimage to the East. Fulk promised help on his return, and was as good as his word, for he summoned Crescentius to an interview, during which the latter was shot dead by one of Fulk's archers. (*Vide* "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. v, p. 151.)

The "Liber Pontificalis" records that there was a great famine in Rome at this time, and that the price of bread became exorbitant.

Pope Sergius IV died on 12th May 1012, and was buried in the Lateran church, where an epitaph, quoted by Duchesne, was afterwards placed to his memory. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 267, *note*.)

CXLV. BENEDICT VIII, A.D. 1012-1024

(GREGORY, ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: HENRY II, 1014-1024

DURING the pontificate of Sergius IV, the family of the Crescentii had gradually lost their influence (*vide* John XVII), their place being taken by the Counts of Tusculum, who now rose to great power in Rome. Gregory, the first Count of Tusculum, known to history, was directly descended from the famous Theodora, wife of the Senator Theophylact. (*Vide* Sergius III.) By his wife Maria, Gregory had three sons, Alberic, Theophylact, and Romanus.

On the death of Sergius IV, Count Gregory found himself powerful enough to bring about the election of his second son, Theophylact, to the see of Peter, and the papacy continued as a hereditary possession in this family for three pontificates. Theophylact, who is believed to have been a layman at the time of his elevation, which took place in May 1012, took the name of Benedict VIII.

About the same time the faction of the Crescentii, although

now reduced to a small minority, elected a pope of their own choice named Gregory. Gregory was soon obliged to flee from Rome, and made his way to the court of Henry, King of Germany. Henry, who was contemplating an expedition to Rome to receive the imperial crown, promised on his arrival there to inquire into the claims of Gregory. According to another account it was Benedict and not Gregory who was obliged to flee from Rome to seek Henry's protection, but the Romans hastily recalled him on hearing of the King's approach.

Henry had previously visited Italy in the year 1004, when he defeated and deposed Ardoin of Ivrea, who had been chosen King of Italy by the national party. Although Henry had then received the crown of Italy at Pavia, he had returned to Germany without proceeding to Rome. It was not until the beginning of the year 1014 that Henry returned to Italy. The papal schism had by this time ended in favour of Benedict, and Henry gave his support to the Tusculan Pope.

Henry and his wife Cunegunda were received in Rome with the customary honours, being met by the scholars from the foreign schools with crosses and banners, and by twelve senators (probably representatives from the different regions of the city), of whom six were clean shaven, and six bearded. These are said to have walked "mystically" with wands in their hands before the King and Queen to the entrance of the city.

On 14th February 1014 Benedict VIII solemnly crowned Henry and Cunegunda Emperor and Empress in St. Peter's. Henry promised to defend the Church, and to pay due obedience to the Pope. On this occasion Benedict presented the Emperor with a golden crown, and with an orb surmounted by a cross. After the ceremony the Pope entertained the Emperor and Empress at a banquet in the Lateran Palace, and Henry is said to have confirmed to the Roman see all the privileges granted by his predecessors. He also re-established the decree that papal consecrations must take place in the presence of the imperial officials.

The Emperor had no sooner withdrawn from Rome than a rebellion broke out through the influence of the national party, and he was obliged to hasten back to the city. Having quelled the revolt, he caused the authors to be carried in chains across the Alps, before he himself returned to Germany.

In 1016 an army of Saracens landed in Tuscany, and having burned Pisa, seized the city of Luni, from whence they made frequent incursions into the surrounding country. Pope Bene-

dict VIII exerted himself with true warlike zeal to raise an army, and did not hesitate to march with it himself against the invaders. At the Pope's approach the leader of the Saracens made his escape, abandoning his treasures, and also his wife. A large share of booty fell into the hands of the papal army, and the wife of the leader was put to death. The leader is said to have sent the Pope a sack of chestnuts, with the message: "I will return with as many valiant Saracens to the conquest of Italy." In reply the Pope sent him a sack of millet, with the retort: "As many brave warriors as there are grains in this sack will appear at my bidding to defend their native land."

Meantime the chief power in Rome was exercised by the family of the Counts of Tusculum, evidently with the consent of the Emperor Henry. Romanus, brother of the Pope, ruled the city as "Senator of the Romans."

Although the details have not been preserved, a persecution of the Jews evidently took place at this time.

In 1020 Pope Benedict went to Germany at the invitation of Henry, in order to consecrate a bishop for a church recently founded at Bamberg. The Pope was received in Germany with the highest honours, and celebrated the Easter festival with the Emperor at Bamberg, where a bishop was duly consecrated. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 511.) Henry promised at the Pope's request that he would shortly undertake an expedition to Italy against the Greeks. This promise was fulfilled in 1022, when the Emperor marched with a victorious army through Southern Italy. Pandulf, Prince of Capua, who had intrigued with the Greeks, was banished to Germany, and the power of the western Emperor was temporarily restored in the south. Henry then made an alliance with the Normans, who promised their support against the Greeks.

It was probably after this campaign that the Emperor went with the Pope to Pavia, where a council was held, and decrees passed against simony and the concubinage of the clergy. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 512.) The Emperor also visited the monastery of Monte Cassino in company with the Pope, who consecrated a new abbot, Theobald. Atenulf, abbot of the monastery, brother of Pandulf, Prince of Capua, had fled at Henry's approach, and had been drowned while attempting to escape to Constantinople.

In 1022 Ethelnoth, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Rome, and received the pallium from Pope Benedict. (*Vide* William of Malmesbury, "English Chronicle," ii, 3, ed. Bohn, p. 202.)

Leofric, Abbot of Ely, accompanied Ethelnoth to Rome to make appeal to the Pope against his deposition, and Benedict ordered him to be restored to his dignity.

Pope Benedict VIII died on 7th April 1024, and was buried in the Lateran church. The "Liber Pontificalis" and other chronicles record extraordinary legends of apparitions of this Pope seen by various persons after his death. (*Vide* ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 270.)

CXLVI. JOHN XIX, A.D. 1024-1032(?)

Emperor: CONRAD II of Franconia, 1024-1039

ROMANUS, Senator of the Romans, third son of Gregory Count of Tusculum, was chosen to succeed his brother Benedict VIII in the papal chair. It is probable that his election was brought about through the influence of his powerful family. Although one account, of very doubtful authenticity, states that he was Bishop of Portus at the time of his elevation, he is generally stated to have been a layman. At his consecration, which took place in April or May 1024, he took the name of John XIX.

The new Pope is said to have been inclined to accept certain overtures made to him by the Eastern Emperor Basil, and by the patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote requesting that John would recognize his title of universal bishop, and sending at the same time costly gifts. This proposal, however, met with so much opposition from the prelates of France and Germany that John was forced to refuse to comply with it, and to return the gifts. The copy of a letter exists, written to the Pope on this subject by William, Abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon, urging His Holiness to refuse his consent to the crafty schemes of the Greeks.

On 13th July 1024, the Emperor Henry II died without issue, and was succeeded by Conrad II of Franconia, known as the Salic. In 1026 Conrad set out for Italy with a large army, and after subduing the towns which had revolted from the imperial authority, went to Rome with his Queen Gisela, having been invited thither by the Pope to receive the imperial crown at his hands.

Conrad was received in Rome with the usual honours, and with demonstrations of apparent joy; and on Easter Day 1027 he and Queen Gisela were solemnly crowned Emperor and

Empress by Pope John in St. Peter's. The coronation was honoured by the presence of Rudulf, King of Burgundy, and Cnut, King of England and Denmark, who in the procession back to the palace walked on either side of the Emperor. The brave Cnut, in accordance with a long-cherished desire, had come to Rome as a humble pilgrim, with wallet and staff, and his simple-hearted greatness is admirably expressed in a beautiful letter which he wrote from Rome to his English subjects at this time. He expresses an almost child-like wonder at the honourable reception accorded him in Rome, and states that he has obtained from the Pope and the Emperor exemption from tolls and taxes for such of his subjects as should in future pass through their territories, either as pilgrims or merchants. He, on his part, has promised that the payment of Peter's pence from England shall be continued. He tells them that he has prayed at all the great shrines, for which he is the happier, for since it has been taught him that in the hands of Peter is the power received from the Lord to bind and loose, it is of great avail to have with the Lord an advocate in the bearer of the keys of heaven. Lastly he tells his subjects that he has resolved to rectify any wrongs or injustice which he may have done them in the past, and to atone for his past errors by ruling more justly in the time to come. (*Cf.* William of Malmesbury, "English Chronicle," ed. Bohn, pp. 199-202; Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. iv, pt. 1, pp. 36-37.)

Before Conrad left Rome, the usual quarrel broke out between the Germans and the Italians, causing much bloodshed in the city. After peace had been restored by the imperial troops, the leaders of the revolt were brought before Conrad to implore pardon, with swords or ropes hanging from their necks, according as they were nobles or plebeians.

After a campaign in Southern Italy Conrad renewed the treaty with the Normans against the Greeks. (*Vide ante*, p. 221.) On his way home he again visited Rome, where he set up an imperial tribunal, and decreed that in future Lombards as well as Romans should be tried by Roman law.

Although there was no open revolt against Pope John XIX, a good deal of dissatisfaction seems to have been aroused in different quarters by his policy. It is recorded that William, Abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon, who seems to have constituted himself the papal monitor (*vide supra*), wrote to the Pope, denouncing him for his lack of severity against simony. The

bishops of Gaul also addressed a letter to the Pope, in which they censured him for absolving those who had been excommunicated, even for serious crimes, on their coming as pilgrims to Rome. John is said to have ordered all those who robbed pilgrims to Rome to be publicly executed.

His death occurred, according to some accounts, in January 1033, according to others before the close of 1032. His body was buried in St. Peter's, between the Porta Argentata and the Porta Romana. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes of the Early Middle Ages," vol. v, p. 237.)

CXLVII. BENEDICT IX, A.D. 1033-1045

(SYLVESTER III, ANTIPOPE)

Emperors: CONRAD II to 1039; HENRY III, 1039-1056

THEOPHYLACT, nephew of the two preceding popes, and son of Alberic of Tusculum, Count of the Lateran Palace, was chosen Bishop of Rome through the influence of his powerful family (*vide* Benedict VIII), either in October 1032, or, according to another account, in January 1033.

The new Pope, who took the name of Benedict IX, is generally stated to have been scarcely twelve years old at the time of his consecration. Father Mann, however, inclines to the opinion that he must have been at least twenty. (*Vide* "Lives of the Popes," vol. v, p. 239.) This opinion seems to be corroborated by the fact that the youthful prelate, who had been thus thrust by his ambitious family into the papal chair, plunged almost immediately into a life of such debauchery as would appear to be impossible to a boy of twelve. About the year 1035 Benedict was driven from Rome for the first time by the indignant nobles, who probably, however, made his dissolute life an excuse for their political intrigues against his party. An unsuccessful attempt was made to assassinate him, but he escaped, and later (1037) went to seek the protection of the Emperor Conrad II, who was then in Italy. Conrad had arrived with an army in order to quell a rebellion raised by Heribert, Archbishop of Milan, and other discontented dignitaries, but was only partially successful in so doing.

Pope Benedict met the Emperor at Cremona, and was accorded an honourable reception, which some writers attribute to the fact that Conrad had need of the Pope to excommunicate

the Archbishop of Milan. Benedict, grateful for the Emperor's protection, pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against the Archbishop before retiring to Rome. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 520.)

The Emperor afterwards proceeded south to deal with fresh disturbances which had arisen in Apulia and Capua, and celebrated the Easter festival of 1038, near Perugia, with Pope Benedict. Some writers account for the presence of Benedict at Perugia by stating that he had been driven from Rome a second time. Conrad is said to have afterwards proceeded to Rome with the Pope, and to have reinstated him in his dignity without hearing his accusers. His reasons for so doing seem to have been chiefly political, as the Counts of Tusculum supported the German interests.

During his campaign in the south Conrad subdued Pandulf of Capua, and renewed the alliance with the Normans. (*Vide* pp. 221, 223.) His army was then attacked by pestilence, and he was forced to hasten back to Germany, where he died on 4th June 1039. He was succeeded by his son, Henry III the Black, then aged twenty-two, a noble and upright prince.

Very little is known of the pontifical acts of Benedict IX between the years 1038 and 1044. He is recorded to have confirmed the privileges of several monasteries and churches, and to have released from his monastic vows Casimir, Prince of Poland, who had entered the monastery of Cluny, but whose subjects begged him to ascend the throne to quell the disorders which followed his father's death.

In 1044 Benedict's dissolute life caused him to be again driven from the Roman see during a revolt of the populace. He fled to Tusculum, where he received the support of his ancestral house. Meantime the Romans chose a rival pope in the person of John, Bishop of Sabina, who took the name of Sylvester III. The Romans of the Trastevere had, however, remained faithful to Benedict, and the Castle of St. Angelo was held by his party. Accordingly, after a reign of only forty-nine days, the antipope, Sylvester III, was driven out, and Benedict reinstated by the Tusculan faction in March 1045.

The profligate young Pope soon, however, began to tire of the restraints of his official position, and is said to have desired to marry his cousin. About three months after his restoration to the Roman see he went to consult his godfather, John Gratian, Archpresbyter of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, respecting the expediency of abdicating the papal chair. Gratian

actually consented to buy the papacy from Benedict for a sum estimated at £2,000, or, according to some writers, for the amount of Peter's pence from England. The bargain was carried into effect on 1st May 1045, and this date is usually held to mark the close of the pontificate of Benedict IX. Although more than once, during his subsequent career, he returned to the chair of Peter and held it for several months (*vide* Clement II and Damasus II, *infra*), it was rather in the character of a usurper than as lawful pope.

According to some writers Benedict lived until after the close of the pontificate of Leo IX (1054), and never ceased his endeavours to regain the papal chair. But a tradition of the abbey of Grottaferrata declares that he died there penitent, having embraced the monastic life. The discovery of an ancient memorial tablet brought from the old church of Grottaferrata to the newer one, on which is depicted in old mosaics a chequered eagle, the arms of the Conti, Counts of Tusculum, surmounted by a cross, and supported by two seraphs is held to bear out this tradition. Father Mann states that this tablet is regarded on good grounds as the monument of Benedict IX. (*Vide* "Lives of the Popes," vol. v, p. 293-294.)

CXLVIII. GREGORY VI, A.D. 1045-1046

King of Germany: HENRY III, 1039-1046

JOHN GRATIAN, Archpresbyter of S. Giovanni a Porta Latina, the son of Peter, a Roman of illustrious family, acquired the papacy by purchasing it from his predecessor, Benedict IX. After this extraordinary transaction, which is said to have taken place on 1st May 1045, Gratian took possession of the see of Peter, assuming the name of Gregory VI.

Contrary to what might have been expected from the circumstances of his elevation, Gregory was a prelate of upright and blameless life, and there seems little reason to doubt the truth of his subsequent plea that he bought the papacy with the earnest desire of rescuing it from degradation.

William of Malmesbury states that the patrimony of the Church had become so reduced at this time that the Pope had scarcely sufficient means whereon to subsist. Robbers infested the highways, so that no pilgrim could pass with safety. Gregory vainly urged the nobles to restore the territories of

which they had robbed the Church, and, on their refusal, he excommunicated them. As this had no effect he equipped an army against them, and slew many of the plunderers of the Church. The people of Rome, however, showed no gratitude for his restoration of law and order. (*Vide* William of Malmesbury, ii, 13, ed. Bohn, p. 223 and ff.)

Gregory appointed as his chaplain a young monk, Hildebrand, afterwards the famous Gregory VII. The ecclesiastical reforms of Gregory were unfortunately restricted by the fact that his enemies accused him of having obtained the papal chair by simony. Benedict IX had already repented of having sold the papacy, and the antipope, Sylvester III, had never really abandoned his claims. (*Vide* Benedict IX.) In Rome confusion and anarchy consequently prevailed between the three contending parties; and Henry III of Germany was at length invited by certain of the Roman clergy to come to restore order.

In the autumn of 1046 Henry arrived in Italy with his wife Agnes, and a large army. At an interview with Pope Gregory at Piacenza, it was agreed between them that a synod should be summoned to examine the claims of the three Popes. This synod met at Sutri on 20th December 1046, and was largely attended. The three Popes had been summoned to appear, and Gregory and Sylvester obeyed. Sylvester was ordered to put off his robes, and was imprisoned in a monastery until his death.

Gregory frankly confessed that he had been guilty of simony in purchasing the papacy, but pleaded that he had done so in the hope of rescuing it from degradation. Henry III, who was strongly opposed to simony refused to accept this plea, and the assembled bishops were unanimous in requiring Gregory to unfrock. He obeyed submissively, stripping himself of his pontifical robes in their presence, and solemnly pronouncing his resignation of all claims to the Roman see.

King Henry and the bishops then adjourned to Rome, where another council, lasting for two days, was held in St. Peter's. There the deposition of Benedict IX was decreed, and the acts of the synod of Sutri confirmed. It now remained for Henry III to choose a new pope, but, as King of Germany, he possessed no canonical right to elect a bishop, not yet having been crowned emperor. The Romans, therefore, conferred on him the dignity of Patricius, in order that he might have the right to nominate a pope. Henry then chose Adalbert of Hamburg and Bremen, but he having refused the dignity, the

King next chose Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, who was forthwith consecrated.

On his return to Germany after his imperial coronation, Henry took Gregory VI with him, and Hildebrand, the chaplain of the deposed Pope, faithfully followed his master. Gregory VI did not long survive his deposition. Although the place and exact date of his death are uncertain, he is supposed to have died at Cologne early in the year 1048.

CXLIX. CLEMENT II, A.D. 1046-1047

Emperor: HENRY III, 1046-1056

ON Christmas Eve, 1046, Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, the nominee of King Henry III was elevated to the Roman see, vacant through the resignation of Gregory VI.

The new Pope, who belonged to a noble family of Saxony, had previously been chaplain to Herman, Archbishop of Hamburg, and afterwards Canon of St. Stephen's, Halberstadt, from whence, about the year 1041, he had been promoted by Henry III to the see of Bamberg. Suidger, who is described as a prelate of generous and kindly disposition, and of the highest integrity, was consecrated on Christmas Day 1046, when he took the name of Clement II. Immediately after his consecration he crowned Henry III and his wife Agnes Emperor and Empress. After the coronation the Emperor is said to have placed on his own head a plain golden circlet, the symbol of the Patrician dignity, with which he had been invested by the Romans, and which conferred on him the right to nominate the Pope. (*Vide* Gregory VI; *cf.* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. iv, pt. 1, pp. 64-65; Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 526.) For once no insurrection or bloodshed followed the imperial coronation, and vast crowds assembled to see the new Pope, with the new Emperor and Empress, pass in procession through the streets of Rome.

The zeal for reformation which filled both Pope and Emperor caused them to assemble an ecclesiastical synod about 5th January 1047, when decrees were passed against simony, then very prevalent throughout Christendom. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 526.) A dispute arose at this synod between the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna regarding precedence, both claiming the right to sit next the Emperor in councils.

After hearing both sides Pope Clement decided in favour of the Archbishop of Ravenna. Shortly after the conclusion of this synod the Pope accompanied the Emperor in a progress through Southern Italy, during which the alliance with the Normans against the Greeks was renewed. (*Vide ante*, p. 225.) At Benevento the inhabitants refused to open their gates to Henry, and he was obliged to withdraw, the Pope, at his request anathematizing the inhabitants. After visiting Monte Cassino, Salerno, and Capua, Henry and Pope Clement celebrated Easter together at Mantua.

Some writers state that Pope Clement accompanied Henry into Germany, but it is on the whole more probable that at Mantua the Pope left Henry, and set out on his return journey to Rome. According to some accounts his death occurred on the way thither, at the monastery of St. Thomas at Pesaro, and was due to poison administered through the intrigues of the deposed Pope Benedict IX (*q.v.*). Clement died at this monastery in the Pentapolis on 9th October 1047, after a pontificate of a little over nine months. On his death-bed he wrote a touching letter to the Emperor Henry III, in which he requested that his body might be buried in his native land. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 528.) In accordance with his dying request his body was conveyed to Bamberg, and buried in the cathedral there, where his tomb is still to be seen ("Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 273, *note*).

Clement II is the only Pope buried in Germany. It is recorded that the venerable Odilo, Abbot of Cluny, paid one of his many visits to Rome during this pontificate, and being stricken with sickness while there hoped to die in the city of the Apostles. He was, however, restored to health through the prayers of Clement II.

CL. DAMASUS II, A.D. 1048

(BENEDICT IX RESTORED 8TH NOV. 1047 TO JULY 1048)

Emperor: HENRY III, 1046-1056

ON the premature death of Pope Clement II emissaries were dispatched to Germany, from the Romans, to inquire into the wishes of the Emperor Henry with regard to the papacy. The envoys were instructed to propose as a suitable candidate, Halinard, Archbishop of Lyons, who

was well known to the Romans from his yearly pilgrimages to Rome. Halinard, however, refused the dignity, and the Emperor then proposed Poppo, Bishop of Brixen, for the Roman see. Henry accompanied Poppo on his way to Rome as far as Ulm on the Danube, where it was arranged that he would retain his bishopric of Brixen on account of the impoverished state of the Roman see. The Emperor also conferred on Poppo a grant of certain forest-lands in Germany. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 528.) With Poppo the Emperor sent letters to Boniface, the powerful Marquis of Tuscany, commanding him to escort the Pope-elect to Rome.

Meantime, however, Boniface of Tuscany had intrigued with the Tusculan party to reinstate the deposed Pope Benedict IX (*q.v.*) in the Roman see. Once more Benedict returned to Rome, and from November 1047 to July 1048 usurped the papal chair, from which he had previously been deposed. On the arrival of Poppo, Boniface pleaded his advanced age as an excuse for refusing to accompany the Pope-elect to Rome, and also informed him that there was already a bishop in the Roman see. So Poppo was obliged to return to the Emperor. Henry, justly indignant, at once ordered Poppo to return to Boniface bearing a letter, in which the latter was peremptorily ordered to expel Benedict and instal the imperial nominee. This letter had the desired effect. At the instigation of envoys despatched by Boniface, Benedict was driven from the Roman see for the last time, and Boniface himself conducted Poppo to the Lateran Palace.

Poppo was consecrated on 17th July 1048, and took the name of Damasus II. Although his reason for leaving Rome soon after his consecration has not been recorded, it is supposed that he was forced to do so on account of the summer heat. All we know for certain is, that on 8th August 1048 he died at Praeneste, after a pontificate of only twenty-three days. Rumour attributed his death to poison, administered by an emissary of the deposed Pope Benedict IX, but it is more probable that he fell a victim to the Roman fever, always so fatal to those of German birth. He was buried in the church of St. Laurence without the walls of Rome.

CLI. LEO IX, A.D. 1049-1054

Emperor: HENRY III, 1046-1056

THE prelate called to fill the Roman see on the death of Damasus II was destined to inaugurate a new era of reform in the history of the papacy, which from the darkness of the previous age was now to rise to universal spiritual supremacy.

Bruno, Bishop of Toul, was closely related to the Emperor Henry III, his father, Count Hugh of Egisheim (in Alsace), having been first cousin to the late Emperor Conrad II. At an early age Bruno had been entrusted by his noble and pious parents to the care of Berthold, Bishop of Toul, and the boy is said, when still very young, to have shown signs of fervent piety and fitness for the sacred ministry.

It is related that on one occasion, when Bruno was at home for his holidays, he was attacked, while asleep during the night, by some kind of wild animal, and was so severely wounded that there seemed little hope of his recovery. He was miraculously restored to health by the intervention of St. Benedict, who appeared to him in a vision, and cured his wounds by touching them with a cross. While still a youth, Bruno was made canon of St. Stephen's at Toul, and at about the age of twenty-two, was chosen bishop of that see, which he held for over twenty years, resisting the Emperor's desire to raise him to a higher position. In 1026, probably just before his appointment to the Archbishopric of Toul, Bruno had accompanied Conrad II to Italy as his chaplain, and had been present at the Imperial coronation of that prince. (*Vide ante*, p. 223.)

To the envoys sent to Germany in 1048 by the Roman clergy and people to inquire into the wishes of the Emperor with regard to a successor to Pope Damasus, the Emperor at once nominated his cousin Bruno, who was also proposed by the Romans. It was, however, only with the greatest difficulty that Bruno was persuaded to accept so high an honour.

The Pope-elect arrived in Rome in 1049, accompanied by the monk Hildebrand, who is believed to have joined him at Cluny. On the advice of his companion, Bruno entered the city in the guise of a humble monk, prepared to acknowledge the imperial election invalid unless ratified by the free choice of the clergy and people of Rome. As Hildebrand had probably foreseen, Bruno's act of humility secured for him the popu-

lar sympathy, and at an assembly convened in St. Peter's, soon after his arrival, the loud acclamations of the people proclaimed him their chosen Pope. At his consecration, which took place on 12th February, he took the name of Leo IX.[1]

Although much of the reforming zeal of Leo IX has been attributed to the influence of Hildebrand, who, with the rank of Cardinal-subdeacon, soon became the most powerful churchman in Italy, there can be no doubt that Leo, pained by the vices then prevalent among the clergy, ardently desired on his own initiative to bring about a reformation. To this end he never ceased to labour during the whole of his pontificate.

In the April following his election Leo held the first of his paschal synods, when decrees were passed against simony and the concubinage of the clergy. Leo then decided to journey through Italy, Germany, and France, in order to preside in person at reforming synods, and to visit the monasteries and churches of the regions through which he passed. In these journeys he was not unfrequently accompanied by Hildebrand, who ably supported him in the work of reform. It soon became evident, however, that if every cleric convicted of simony and concubinage was to be degraded, there would be few left in the Church, so prevalent were these evils.

After holding a reforming synod at Pavia, the Pope crossed the Alps to Germany, and at Cologne was met by the Emperor Henry III, who desired his powerful enemy, Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, to be excommunicated. Having satisfied the Emperor in this respect, Leo passed through other towns in Germany, being well received everywhere.

Notwithstanding the opposition of the French king, Henry I, Pope Leo next proceeded to France, and held a reforming synod at Rheims, which was well attended by French clergy. Two bishops from England were present at this synod. (*Vide* "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," An. 1050.) On the Pope's return journey to Rome he held a synod at Mainz, and celebrated the Christmas festival of 1049 at Verona.

In the following year (1050) Leo set out on his second transalpine journey, visiting Toul, Trèves, Augsburg and other important centres in Germany, granting and confirming many privileges to monasteries and churches. Leo's third and last journey beyond the Alps was undertaken in 1052, for the purpose of bringing about a reconciliation between the Emperor

[1] Leo VIII is regarded as an antipope, *vide* p. 201.

Henry III and the King of Hungary. Both sides, however, rejected his attempts at mediation, and his expedition proved a failure. Leo spent Christmas with the Emperor at Worms, and Henry agreed to grant the territory of Benevento to the Pope in exchange for the bishopric of Bamberg, previously held by the Roman see. The Emperor further promised to lend the Pope imperial troops, with which to recover the city and province of Benevento from the Normans, into whose hands they had fallen. It appears, however, that an anti-papal party afterwards induced the Emperor to withdraw this promise, and only five hundred Swabian knights, with whom was Godfrey of Lorraine, attended the Pope as volunteers on his return to Italy.

By a bull dated April 1051, Pope Leo IX freed Edward the Confessor from his vow to make a pilgrimage to Rome, on condition that he undertook instead either to distribute a certain sum in alms among the poor, or to rebuild or repair the monastery of St. Peter's (Westminster). (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 540.) Edward appointed to the see of Canterbury Robert de Jumièges, a Norman, who had previously been Bishop of London, and sent him to Rome to receive the pallium. The King then chose a certain prelate named Spearhafoc, Abbot of Abingdon, for the see of London, but Pope Leo IX on hearing of this refused to sanction his election (*Vide* "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," An. 1043.)

It is recorded that Macbeth, King of Scotland, the murderer of King Duncan, visited Rome during this pontificate, and bestowed alms generously on the poor. (*Cf.* Gregorovius "Hist. of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 78.)

In 1053 Pope Leo IX, with the knights who had followed him from Germany, and a band of mercenaries, set out for Benevento against the Normans. There the papal army was joined by Greek troops. At first the Normans seem to have been willing to treat for peace, but the Pope rejected the terms they offered, although his troops were no match for the well-trained and disciplined forces of his enemies—the Normans being at this time the best soldiers in Europe.

On 18th June 1053 a battle took place near Civitella, when the papal army and their Greek allies were completely defeated. The conquerors afterwards stormed the fortress of Civitella, where the Pope had taken refuge, and he surrendered himself into their hands. He was, however, treated with the greatest respect and consideration by the Normans, with whom he remained in a kind of honourable captivity for about nine months.

Certain writers, including Father Mann, are of the opinion that Leo was not a prisoner during the months he remained at Benevento, but was more probably detained there by illness, or by the desire of restoring peace by his presence. (*Vide* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages," vol. vi, p. 130.)

While in Benevento Pope Leo corresponded with the Greek Emperor and with the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, who had refused to acknowledge the Pope as universal bishop, and had thrown off all allegiance to the Roman see. Under the influence of the Greek Emperor, however, Cerularius now wrote in a humbler tone to the Pope.

Deeply humbled by his failure against the Normans, Leo imposed on himself during these months the severest penances. He wore sackcloth, slept on the floor with a stone for his pillow, and fasted to the extent of wasting his strength. Leo remained at Benevento until 12th March 1054, when being taken seriously ill, he was, at his own request, conveyed to Rome with an honourable escort of the Normans. At Capua he was compelled to halt for several days, on account of extreme weakness, but reached Rome before Easter, which fell on 3rd April.

He was joyfully received by the citizens, but told them that he had returned only to die. Many miracles performed by him, and visions of angels vouchsafed to his monks, are said to have borne witness to his sanctity at this time. After remaining a few days in the Lateran Palace, Leo caused himself to be carried to St. Peter's, where he died in front of the altar on 19th April 1054. His remains were placed in a marble coffin which he had ordered to be prepared, and he was buried in the atrium of St. Peter's near the Ravenna Gate.

Leo IX is honoured as a saint in the Roman martyrology. In 1606 his coffin was opened, and his remains transferred to another part of the church of St. Peter.

CLII. VICTOR II, A.D. 1055-1057

Emperor: HENRY III, 1046-1056

ON his death-bed Pope Leo IX is said to have entrusted the Roman see to Hildebrand, the powerful Cardinal sub-deacon of the Roman Church, who was then absent in France. Hildebrand, on receiving news of the Pope's death,

at once set out for Rome, and it was proposed on his arrival that he should be chosen Pope. He, however, decided to proceed to Germany as leader of an embassy to inquire into the wishes of the Emperor with respect to the vacant see. Hildebrand found the Emperor at Mainz, in November 1054, and proposed that Gebhardt, Bishop of Eichstadt, son of Hartwig, Count of Calvi, should be chosen pope.

Gebhardt, who was a prelate of considerable experience and ability, had been elevated to the see of Eichstadt at the early age of twenty-two, and was at this time the trusted friend and counsellor of the Emperor Henry III. The objections of both Henry and Gebhardt to this choice were overcome by Hildebrand, who at length set out for Rome with the Pope-elect. Gebhardt, who took the name of Victor II, was consecrated on 13th April 1055, the Roman see having been vacant a whole year.

Shortly after Victor's consecration, the Emperor Henry arrived in Italy. He was met by the Pope at Florence, where an ecclesiastical council was held. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 549.) Decrees were passed against simony and the concubinage of the clergy, and the doctrine of Berengarius of Tours, concerning the Holy Eucharist, was condemned. Bishops and abbots were prohibited at this council from granting the estates of the Church to feudal laymen.

But the chief object of the Emperor in coming to Italy was to crush the power of Godfrey of Lorraine, who in 1054 had considerably increased his influence by marrying Beatrice, widow of Boniface of Tuscany, and whom the Emperor now suspected of aspiring to rule Italy as king. On the arrival of Henry in Italy, Godfrey fled to Germany, and Beatrice, with her daughter Matilda, fell into the power of the Emperor who kept them in honourable captivity. Godfrey's brother Frederick, Chancellor of the Apostolic see, who had been sent to Constantinople as a legate, now returned laden with treasures. Henry ordered the Pope to have him seized, but he fled to the monastery of Monte Cassino, and by becoming a monk escaped the Emperor's vengeance.

Pope Victor again despatched Hildebrand to France as his legate, and important reformatory councils were held at Tours, and at Toulouse. Meantime the Emperor Henry III, being seriously harassed by the intrigues of Godfrey of Lorraine with the German nobles, sent letters to the Pope, begging that he would come to Germany to confer with him. Pope Victor

accordingly set out for Germany, but reached Goslar, where the Emperor then was, only to find him dying of fever. The Pope attended the Emperor in his last hours, and promised to acknowledge his young son Henry, then scarcely six years old, as King of Germany. Henry died on 5th October 1056 at the early age of thirty-nine.

Before leaving Germany Victor II held a synod at Cologne, and also reconciled Godfrey of Lorraine with the Empress Agnes, who was appointed Regent during her son's minority. Victor made it part of his wise policy to seek the friendship of Godfrey of Lorraine and his wife Beatrice of Tuscany, a policy which was to prove of great advantage to the papacy at a later period. (*Vide* Gregory VII.)

The Pope made a progress through Italy where he now ruled in the name of the Emperor, and administered the territories of Spoleto and Camerino as duke. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. iv, pt. 1, p. 97.) In the spring of 1057 Pope Victor held another council in Florence, when Frederick, now a cardinal, was restored to power, and made abbot of Monte Cassino. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 553.) The Pope was preparing to return to Germany when he died suddenly at Arezzo, on 28th July 1057, and was buried at Ravenna.

It is said that certain German prelates desired to convey his remains to Eichstadt. But shortly after setting out with the coffin, they fell among thieves in the neighbourhood of Ravenna, and were robbed of all they possessed. They were, therefore, obliged to bury the body of Victor outside Ravenna, in the church of St. Mary. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 277, *note*.)

In a letter addressed to Edward the Confessor, Pope Victor II confirmed the privileges of the monastery of Ely. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 551.) He also followed the example of his predecessor, Leo IX, in refusing to acknowledge Stigand as Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1055 Kynsey (Cynesige), Archbishop of York, went to Rome to receive the pallium. (*Vide* "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.")

CLIII. STEPHEN X (IX), A.D. 1057-1058

King of Germany: HENRY IV, 1056-1106

THE unexpected news of the death of Pope Victor II caused much grief and consternation in Rome. Hildebrand, the influential Cardinal sub-deacon, having attended the late Pope to Tuscany was still absent from Rome, and considerable perplexity seems to have existed as to the steps to be taken for electing a new pope.

It happened, however, that Frederick of Lorraine, the recently elected Abbot of Monte Cassino and Cardinal of S. Crisogono (*vide* Victor II), had just arrived in Rome, and had taken up his abode at the monastery of Sta. Maria in Pallara on the Palatine. Thither a deputation was sent by the Roman clergy and people to ask his advice regarding a successor to Victor II. Frederick named five prelates including Hildebrand, any of whom he declared would be suitable to fill the Roman see.

A proposal was, however, made that Frederick himself should be elected, and this was approved by the dominant party. He was accordingly elected next day in the church of St. Peter ad Vincula, and was escorted with great joy to the Lateran Palace. His consecration took place in St. Peter's on 3rd August 1057, when he took the name of Stephen X. As he was the son of Gozelin of Lorraine, and brother to Godfrey, the powerful Duke of Lorraine and Tuscany (*vide* p. 235), his elevation served further to increase the influence of his family.

At the commencement of the pontificate of Leo IX, Frederick had been attached as a canon to the church of St. Lambert in Liège. Having attended Leo IX in his journey through Germany and France, Frederick returned with the Pope to Rome, and was by him made Chancellor and Librarian of the Apostolic see. He was afterwards sent by Leo on an embassy to Constantinople, and on his return shared with his brother Godfrey the displeasure of Henry III, which Godfrey had incurred by his marriage with Beatrice of Tuscany.

In order to escape the vengeance of the Emperor, Frederick retired to the monastery of Monte Cassino. After the death of Henry Frederick was restored to favour by Pope Victor II, who made him abbot of Monte Cassino and Cardinal-priest of

S. Crisogono in Trastevere. He is described as a lofty-minded and haughty prelate, of princely bearing, strong, shrewd, and energetic.

Soon after his consecration Pope Stephen held two synods, and passed decrees forbidding the marriage of relatives and of priests. He also ordered that all clerics who had married since the reforming decrees of Leo IX should be degraded from their orders.

The Pope remained in Rome until St. Andrew's Day (30th November), and then set out for the monastery of Monte Cassino, of which he was still abbot. While there he became seriously ill, and chose as his successor in the event of his death, Desiderius, a monk in the monastery, afterwards Pope Victor III. Stephen partially recovered his health, however, and was able to return to Rome in February 1058. He is said to have conceived a bold scheme for the unity of Italy, and its deliverance from the Normans, by the elevation of his brother Godfrey to the imperial throne.

To raise the necessary funds he sent a message to the monks of Monte Cassino, ordering them to send all their accumulated treasures and valuable plate of the monastery to Rome. Weeping bitterly for the loss of their treasures, the monks obeyed. Shortly afterwards, however, the Pope seems to have been filled with compunction by the grief of the monks, for he sent back all the treasures to Monte Cassino. It is probable that his failing health caused him to relinquish his great projects.

Stephen despatched Hildebrand to Germany to confer with the Empress Agnes concerning the affairs of the Roman see, and issued a decree forbidding the clergy and people of Rome, in case of his death, to proceed to a new election until Hildebrand had returned.

After a short stay in Rome, Stephen set out for Florence to visit his brother Godfrey. Soon after his arrival there he again became seriously ill, and died on 29th March 1058. He was buried in the church of Sta. Reparata in Florence, a church which was afterwards destroyed to make room for the present cathedral or Duomo.

CLIV. NICHOLAS II, A.D. 1059-1061

(BENEDICT X, ANTIPOPE, 1058-1059)

King of Germany: HENRY IV, 1056-1106

THE death of Stephen X was followed by tumults in Rome. Profiting by the absence of Hildebrand, the influential sub-deacon, and by the weakness of the regency in Germany, the Roman nobles once more usurped the chief authority.

Gregory, Count of Tusculum, brother of Benedict IX joined by certain members of the Crescentii family, and Count Gerard of Galeria, determined to elect a pope of their own choice, and chose John Mincius, Cardinal-bishop of Velletri, who belonged to the family of the Crescentii. Having forced their way into the city, Mincius was hurriedly consecrated by night, and took the name of Benedict X. Being possessed of great wealth he is said to have won the support of the people by bribes.

The Roman clergy, however, refused to acknowledge Benedict, and certain of the cardinals withdrew to Florence, there to await the return of Hildebrand, the sub-deacon, from Germany. (*Vide* Leo IX.) On his arrival, Hildebrand, with the consent of the regent Agnes, summoned the cardinals to meet at Siena in December 1058, for the election of a new pope. Their choice fell on Gerard, Bishop of Florence, a native of Burgundy, whose piety and learning had recommended him to Hildebrand. An embassy was sent to the Empress Agnes, who signified her approval of the choice made by the cardinals by ordering Godfrey of Tuscany (*vide* Victor II) to escort the Pope-elect to Rome.

They advanced to Sutri, where another synod was held, attended by Godfrey of Tuscany (*vide* p. 237) and Wibert of Parma, the imperial Chancellor. At this synod Benedict was excommunicated and Gerard declared to be the lawful pope. After some fighting in the streets of Rome, the party of Gerard prevailed. Benedict fled to the fortress of Passarano, then held by a member of the Crescentii family, and from thence set out to seek the protection of the Count of Galeria. On 24th January 1059 Gerard was consecrated pope, and took the name of Nicholas II.

In the April following his consecration, a great council

was held in the Lateran, attended by one hundred and thirteen bishops. It was decreed that in future the right to elect popes should be vested in the cardinals, the election to be ratified by the consent of the other clergy, and by the acclamation of the people. The decree stated that regard was to be paid in the matter of the election to the honour and reverence due to the Emperor, but his share in the choice of a pope was purposely made vague. The Roman clergy were to have the prior right, but if no suitable candidate could be found among them, a prelate from any other church was eligible. Rome was to be by preference the place of election, but if for any reason it was inconvenient to hold it in the city, the cardinals might hold it wherever they wished. The passing of these important decrees concerning papal elections, which are still in force at the present day, make the pontificate of Nicholas II a momentous epoch in the annals of papal history. It is generally stated that these decrees were passed chiefly through the influence of Hildebrand, who was instrumental in drawing them up. Two versions of these decrees are extant, a papal and an imperial. (*Vide* E. F. Henderson, "Hist. Documents of the Middle Ages," ed. Bohn, pp. 361-365.)

At this synod Berengarius of Tours appeared to answer the charge of heresy said to be contained in his teaching concerning the Holy Eucharist. He appears to have recanted his heresy before the assembled bishops, but had no sooner escaped from their power than he withdrew his recantation.

The other important event of this pontificate was the alliance of the Papacy with the Normans, who at this time held the chief power in Southern Italy. Robert Guiscard, a powerful Norman count, now ruled in Apulia, and his brother-in-law, Richard of Aversa, held Capua, which he had taken from the last Lombard prince. Guiscard, who had been excommunicated for seizing papal territory, now became desirous of having the ban removed, and for this purpose made friendly overtures to the Pope.

Meantime, Godfrey of Tuscany had withdrawn from Rome with his troops, and the Roman nobles continued indignant at the deposition of their antipope Benedict X. Nicholas was thus greatly in need of support, and Hildebrand determined to seek the help of the Normans. It was therefore agreed that Pope Nicholas should proceed to Melfi in Apulia, there to hold a council. This assembly met in the summer of 1059, and was attended by Richard of Aversa, and Robert Guiscard. They

agreed to hold their conquests as fiefs of the Roman see, and to do homage for their territories to the Pope. Richard was recognized by the Pope as Prince of Capua, and Guiscard as Duke of Apulia, of Calabria, and of the island of Sicily, whensoever he should have conquered it from the Greeks and Saracens. In return for these titles, which the Pope solemnly bestowed upon them, the Normans swore to uphold the rights and protect the possessions of the Roman see.

In accordance with this treaty a Norman army accompanied Pope Nicholas and Hildebrand on their return to Rome. The troops proceeded to reduce to obedience the Counts of Tusculum, Praeneste, and the Sabina. Galeria, where the antipope Benedict X had taken refuge, was then besieged and the Count of that territory reduced to the greatest straits. Benedict offered to surrender himself provided his personal safety were guaranteed. Thirty Roman nobles pledged themselves to answer for his safety, and he was escorted to Rome, where, at first, he was allowed to live in retirement in his mother's house near Sta. Maria Maggiore.

After thirty days, however, Hildebrand caused him to be seized and brought before a synod of bishops, when he was publicly degraded and stripped of his vestments. Benedict was then sent to the monastery of St. Agnes, where he was not permitted to exercise any of his clerical functions. Later, however, he was restored to the rank of a deacon, and lived until the pontificate of Gregory VII.

For some time a reformatory movement had been in progress in Milan, led by a party known as the Patarines or Ragged-ones —a name first given them in derision, but accepted by them as significant of the poverty of Christ. The movement began by the formation of a league against the married clergy, of whom there seem to have been a large number in Milan. The leaders were Anselm, Bishop of Lucca (afterwards Pope Alexander II), and two clerics named Landulf and Arialdo, the latter a man of humble birth. They were joined by the rabble, and the movement, spreading to other towns in Germany, tended to become a political one to throw off the German yoke.

Guido, Archbishop of Milan, after vainly attempting to make peace, assembled a council and excommunicated Arialdo and Landulf. Pope Nicholas appointed as his legates to Milan to investigate the cause of the disturbances, Anselm of Lucca and Peter Damian, the latter one of the most remarkable reformers of his age. Damian had been abbot of the Benedictine monas-

tery of Avellana, at the foot of the Apennines. In 1057 he had been raised, much against his will, to the dignity of Cardinal-bishop of Ostia by Pope Stephen X. He was a stern opponent of the marriage of priests, and had written a book in which he fiercely attacked the profligacy of the clergy.

In Milan he succeeded in restoring order and inducing the rebels to return to their allegiance to the Apostolic see, but he very narrowly escaped death at their hands. Guido of Milan and six of his suffragan bishops were summoned to a council in Rome, when they promised to submit to the authority of the Pope. Guido, who had been temporarily deposed for excommunicating the leaders of the Patarines, was restored to his archbishopric.

During this pontificate Aldred, Archbishop of York, visited Rome, but the Pope refused to grant him the pallium, as previous to his translation to York he had been Bishop of Worcester. According to one account, Tostig of Northumbria, the brother of King Harold, along with his wife, accompanied Aldred to Rome. On their return journey, the English pilgrims fell into the hands of the Count of Galeria, and were robbed of all they possessed. They were forced to return to Rome in an almost destitute condition, and the Pope is said to have been so moved by compassion that he consented to grant the pallium to Aldred, on condition that another bishop was appointed to Worcester. (*Cf.* "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," An. 1061.)

It is recorded that in February 1061 Pope Nicholas besieged the castle of Alipergum, but the details concerning this event are unknown. It is probable that this castle belonged to a rebellious vassal. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 565. *Cf.* H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages," vol. vi, p. 256.)

In the summer of 1061 Nicholas visited Florence, the bishopric of which city he had retained after his elevation to the Roman see. While there he was suddenly taken ill, and died on 27th July 1061. He is believed to have been buried near his predecessor, Pope Stephen X, in the church of Sta. Reparata in Florence.

CLV. ALEXANDER II, A.D. 1061-1073

(HONORIUS II, ANTIPOPE)

King of Germany: HENRY IV, 1056-1106

IN accordance with the decree passed at the Lateran Council of 1059 (*vide ante*, p. 240), the cardinals, on the death of Nicholas II, chose as Pope, Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, a native of Milan, the son of Anselinus. Anselm had received his early education in Normandy, where, at Bec, he had been taught by the famous Lanfranc. As one of the founders of the Patarines (*vide* Nicholas II), he had many enemies among those who opposed the celibacy of the clergy.

The decrees of the council of 1059 had been coldly received by the Empress Agnes, who acted as regent during the minority of her son Henry IV. Stephen, a monk of Cluny, who was sent by Hildebrand the Archdeacon [1] to the imperial court with a letter to the Empress acquainting her with these decrees, was refused admittance, and returned with the letter unopened.

The consecration of Anselm,who took the name of Alexander II, took place on 1st October 1061, and was followed on 28th October by the election of an antipope in the interests of the Regency. The imperial choice fell on Cadalus, Bishop of Parma, who took the name of Honorius II. The latter was proclaimed Pope at a council held at Basle, by the imperialists, who at the same time declared the election of Alexander II null. Honorius then proceeded to Italy with a large army in the spring of 1062.

Benzo, Bishop of Alba in Piedmont, was sent to Rome as an envoy of the Empress to stir up the Romans in support of Honorius. A meeting was called by Benzo in the Circus Maximus, at which Pope Alexander II attended on horseback, but His Holiness was obliged to retire disconcerted before the satire of Benzo, who addressed him in a violent speech, and who was successful in winning a number of adherents to the side of the antipope.

In March Honorius arrived with his troops before Rome, but after conquering the Leonine suburb, he withdrew on the approach of Godfrey of Tuscany with a large force. Godfrey

[1] Hildebrand had been made Archdeacon of the Roman Church by Pope Nicholas II.

ordered both Popes to withdraw to their respective bishoprics, Alexander to Lucca, and Honorius to Parma.

Shortly after this, events unexpectedly turned in favour of Alexander. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, with the support of Godfrey of Tuscany, seized the young King Henry IV, then aged twelve, and conveyed him to Cologne. A council, at which the young king was present, met at Augsburg on 28th October 1062, when Honorius was declared to be a usurper, and Alexander was recognized as the lawful pope. Accordingly, in January 1063, Pope Alexander returned to Rome, and was received with great joy by the Hildebrandian party.

Within a few months, however, a reaction took place in favour of Honorius II, under the influence of Albert, Bishop of Bremen, who had supplanted Archbishop Anno in the favour of the young king. Honorius again appeared before Rome with an army, and took up his abode in the Castle of St. Angelo, under the protection of the governor, Cencius. Alexander II was supported by the Normans (*vide ante*, p. 241), and for over a year the civil war continued, both Popes remaining in Rome.

At length the Romans became weary of supporting Honorius, and deserted his cause, which had already been abandoned by the imperialists. On payment of 300 pounds weight of silver to Cencius, Honorius was permitted to leave Rome, and retired to his bishopric of Parma, where he lived for some years longer. At a council held at Mantua on 31st May 1064, Alexander was finally recognized as lawful pope.

In 1066 Richard of Aversa, Duke of Capua (*vide* Nicholas II), appeared before Rome with an army, demanding that the dignity of Patrician should be conferred on him. The Pope refused to comply with his demands, and Richard ravaged the neighbourhood of Rome, only retiring on the arrival of Godfrey of Tuscany, who had been summoned by Hildebrand to the assistance of the Pope. Godfrey, accompanied by Pope Alexander, pursued the Normans with his army, but a peace was concluded without much advantage on either side. In 1067 the Empress Agnes arrived in Rome, and publicly acknowledged Alexander II as lawful pope. She remained in Rome until her death in 1077, leading a life of exemplary piety.

During this pontificate Peter Damian (*vide ante*, p. 241) continued to be employed on important ecclesiastical missions. He was despatched to Florence by Pope Alexander to investi-

gate the case of Peter, Bishop of Florence, who had been accused of simony, and was also sent to France to settle a dispute between Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, and Drago, Bishop of Macon, concerning the jurisdiction of the monastery of Cluny.

In 1066 Giselbert, Archdeacon of Lisieux, was sent to Rome by William of Normandy to solicit the Pope's approval for the expedition which he was about to make to England. Pope Alexander approved by sending William his blessing, and also the gifts of a standard, and a relic of the apostle St. Peter. Four years later, Pope Alexander sent legates to England at William's request to attend a council held by the Conqueror at Winchester, to regulate the affairs of the English church. William caused Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had received the pallium from the antipope Benedict X, to be deposed, and Lanfranc of Bec was, with the Pope's approval, appointed to the see of Canterbury. Lanfranc afterwards went to Rome to have his election confirmed, and Alexander so greatly honoured the teacher under whom he had studied in his youth, that he presented the Archbishop with two palliums instead of one. (*Vide* "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," An. 1070.) Thomas, Archbishop of York, and Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, had accompanied Lanfranc to Rome to be tried on a charge of simony. Pope Alexander found them both guilty of the charge, but handed them over to Lanfranc to be dealt with as he thought fit. They were at once reinvested. (*Vide* H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages," vol. vi, p. 338.)

Before the close of this pontificate, King Henry IV began the independent course of action which was afterwards to lead to the prolonged quarrel between the Empire and the Papacy. Henry had appointed to the Archbishopric of Milan a subdeacon, Godfrey, who had been accused of simony, and refused to acknowledge Atto the nominee of the reformatory party. Alexander solemnly anathematized those who had advised the young King to elect Godfrey, but the death of the Pope ended the dispute for a time.

Pope Alexander II died on 21st April 1073, and was buried in the Lateran church. About fifty letters of this Pope are extant, together with an unusually large number of decrees, granting or confirming privileges to churches and monasteries. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 567-592.)

CLVI. GREGORY VII (HILDEBRAND),
A.D. 1073-1085

(CLEMENT III, ANTIPOPE)

King of Germany: HENRY IV, 1056 (Emperor, 1084-1106)

THE famous Hildebrand, who was destined to become one of the most remarkable figures in medieval history, was born at Soana, a small town in Tuscany, about the year 1020. Although certain of his later admirers have attempted to trace his descent from the noble Roman house of Aldobrandini, his father, Bonizo, is usually stated to have been a carpenter, and in one of his letters Hildebrand speaks of himself as "a son of the people."

Legends tell that at his birth a fire surrounded his head, and that in his boyhood flames were often seen to issue from his clothes, for which cause he received the name of Hildebrand, which, according to his admirers, signifies "a pure flame," and according to his enemies "the brand of hell."

To the care of his maternal uncle, Laurentius, who was Abbot of St. Mary's on the Aventine in Rome, the boy was sent at an early age, and spent his youth in that monastery. It is probable that Hildebrand made his profession as a monk in Rome. The statement that he was a monk at Cluny, and was afterwards elected prior of that monastery is now considered erroneous by most modern authorities. He, however, visited Cluny, and probably resided there temporarily. (*Cf.* article on Gregory VII, by Carl Theodor Mirbt, D.Th., in Encyc. Brit. 11th ed.)

At about the age of twenty-five Hildebrand was appointed chaplain to Pope Gregory VI (*vide* p. 227). When the latter was compelled to abdicate in 1046 and retired to Germany, Hildebrand accompanied him thither. A few months later Gregory died and according to some accounts Hildebrand remained in Germany during the pontificates of the next two popes.

On the election of Leo IX Hildebrand accompanied the new pope to Rome, and, with the rank of Cardinal-subdeacon, became his confidential adviser. During the next quarter of a century, in which five popes succeeded each other, the influence of Hildebrand remained paramount in ecclesiastical affairs. It was with good reason that he received the name of the "Pope-maker," for he had undoubtedly the

chief influence in the choice of the four pontiffs who immediately preceded him. There seems little doubt that Hildebrand might have attained the papal dignity much earlier than he did had he so desired. (*Vide ante*, p. 235.)

After the death of Alexander II, in April 1073, a fast of three days was proclaimed, after which the cardinals were to proceed to a new election. But at the close of the deceased Pope's funeral ceremonies, which took place in the Lateran church, the assembled people suddenly shouted, "Hildebrand is Pope! St. Peter hath chosen him!" Although this form of election was no longer canonical (*vide ante*, p. 240), Hildebrand was immediately hurried, apparently against his will, to the church of St. Peter ad Vincula. There he was duly elected by the cardinals and took the name of Gregory VII.

The task which he now set before himself was not only to stamp out the licentiousness of the clergy, and to assert his jurisdiction over all Christendom, but also to establish the complete freedom of the Church from secular control.

During the Lenten season which followed his consecration he issued the following decrees:

1. That clerics who had obtained any office or grade of sacred orders by payment should cease to administer in the Church.

2. That all who were guilty of incontinence should resign their offices in the sacred ministry.

3. That the people should refuse to receive the ministry of clerics who were known to be guilty of these offences.

The decree against the marriage of the clergy was immediately put into force, all married priests being expelled from their offices. In many parts of the country the enforcement of this decree raised the greatest opposition against Gregory.

Historical critics now declare that the series of twenty-seven extraordinary propositions ascribed to Gregory, which appear among his letters, and are known as the "Dictatus Papae," cannot be assigned to him.

In the early part of his pontificate Gregory broke off the alliance of the papacy with the Normans (*vide ante*, p. 240) by excommunicating Robert Guiscard for his invasion of papal territory. Shortly afterwards Gregory seems to have nourished hopes of uniting Christendom with the help of the Eastern Emperor against the Turks. He issued letters to all the faithful, and to the princes of Europe, urging them to assemble their armies for the defence of their Christian brethren in the

east. Soon, however, he became so much involved in troubles nearer home that he was unable to carry out these projects.

While many European princes acquiesced in rendering obedience to Gregory VII, William the Conqueror stoutly maintained his independence in secular matters, but seems to have succeeded, nevertheless, in remaining on friendly terms with the great pontiff. The following letter was sent back by William to Gregory by a papal legate who had visited England: "Thy legate, Holy Father, hath called upon me in thy name to take the oath of fealty to thee and to thy successors, and to exert myself in forcing the more regular payment of the money [Peter's Pence] which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Church of Rome. One request I have granted, the other I refuse. Homage to thee I have not chosen nor do I choose to do. I never made a promise to that effect, nor do I find that it was ever performed by my predecessors to thine. The money in question, during the three years past, owing to my being frequently in France, has been negligently collected. Now as I am by divine mercy returned to my kingdom, the money which has been collected is remitted by the aforesaid legate. As for the rest it shall be sent as opportunity shall occur by the legates of our trusty Archbishop Lanfranc. Pray for us and for our kingdom, for we always respected thy predecessors, and we would fain regard thee with sincere affection and be always thy obedient servant." (*Cf.* H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages," vol. vii, p. 176, quoted from Hook's translation.) With regard to the investiture question, William continued to the end of his reign to appoint bishops and abbots at his will, independently of the Pope.

In 1075 Gregory proceeded to publish decrees against lay investiture. It had long been the custom for new bishops to do homage for the temporalities of their sees to the reigning prince, and to receive the ring and crozier at his hands. As these symbols represented spiritual jurisdiction, Gregory refused to tolerate such a custom, and issued the order that all who had received investiture from lay persons should henceforth cease to be regarded as clerics. He also wrote imperious letters to the princes of Europe asserting his claim to their obedience in this respect.

The young King Henry IV of Germany was engaged during the early part of Gregory's pontificate in quelling a revolt in Saxony. But he had no sooner secured a temporary peace by the conquest of Saxony than he proceeded to show his con-

tempt for the Pope's authority by ignoring the decrees against lay investiture. He elected a new Archbishop of Milan, nominated bishops to the sees of Spoleto, Fermo, and Liège, without the papal sanction, and admitted certain excommunicated nobles to his companionship. The Pope addressed to Henry an expostulatory letter, and at the same time sent him a verbal summons to appear in Rome to answer the charges brought against him before an ecclesiastical synod, which was to meet in February 1079.

On Christmas Eve 1075, while Pope Gregory was celebrating midnight mass in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore, he was suddenly attacked by a band of armed men, stripped of his pontifical garments, and hurriedly conveyed on horseback to a fortified tower outside the city walls. This tower belonged to Cencius, a Roman noble, who seems to have conspired with other nobles against the Pope from motives of private revenge. Wounded and bleeding, the Pope was thrown into a dungeon, where he was tended throughout the night by two faithful friends, a noble matron and a man of the people who followed him thither. As it was a stormy night, few people were abroad in the streets, and the knowledge of the outrage which had been committed did not become generally known till the following morning. The populace, on hearing of it, stormed the tower of Cencius, and demanded the release of the Pope. Cencius, alarmed for his own safety, threw himself at the Pope's feet, imploring forgiveness. This Gregory readily granted, on condition that Cencius would undertake a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in order to expiate the sin against Christ and His Church. The gates were then opened, and Gregory was conveyed in triumph back to the church, where the interrupted mass was continued. Although it was afterwards rumoured that King Henry IV had had a share in this outrage, his guilt was never proved, and it seems on the whole unlikely that this was the case.

On the appointed day, the council before which Henry had been summoned to appear met at the Lateran Palace. The King did not present himself, but while the business was proceeding, his envoy, a bold priest named Roland, entered the hall, and in a loud voice called on Pope Gregory to descend from the papal chair by the King's command. Then turning to the astonished cardinals, he summoned them to attend the King and his ministers at the Feast of Pentecost next to receive from them a new pope. "For this one," said Roland, pointing

to Gregory, "is a ravening wolf!" Throughout this extraordinary scene Gregory alone seems to have maintained his dignity. He protected Roland from the violence of the horrified cardinals, and calmly concluded the business of the day. On the following day, when the council had reassembled, Gregory pronounced a most solemn sentence of excommunication against Henry. By this sentence all his subjects were released from their obedience to the King.

At Whitsuntide 1076 Henry summoned a Diet at Worms, but he was not prepared for the tremendous impression which the papal ban made on the minds of his adherents, of whom few responded to his call. The nobles had, however, reasons of their own for holding aloof. For some time a conspiracy had been on foot among them to depose Henry and raise a nominee of their own to the throne of Germany. They now determined to make the papal excommunication an excuse for Henry's deposition, and to employ the Pope as a tool to bring this about. In October 1076 the nobles met at Tribur, and it was agreed that if Henry did not obtain absolution from the Pope before the anniversary of his excommunication, he and his heirs would be for ever excluded from the German and imperial thrones. They also summoned him to be judged at a diet to be held at Augsburg under the presidency of the Pope in February 1077. It was agreed that an escort should be sent to guard the Pope on his journey to Germany to attend the diet, but this arrangement was not carried out by the nobles on account of the unexpected failure of their plans.

The Pope was on his way to Germany when news reached him that Henry was following him, and was only a few miles distant. Fearing treachery, Gregory, on the advice of his friends, turned aside to the fortress of Canossa, which was built on a rock in the heart of the Apennines, and encircled with a triple wall. This fortress belonged to a devoted friend of Gregory, the beautiful Matilda, daughter of Beatrice, Countess of Tuscany. (*Vide ante*, p. 235.) Matilda was herself accompanying the Pope to Germany with an armed escort, which she had provided for his safety.

Henry, with his wife and infant child, had crossed the Alps at a season when the accumulation of snow and the intense cold made the journey specially hazardous. He had, however, fully determined to outwit the nobles by obtaining the papal absolution before the meeting of the diet at Augsburg. On a

bitter morning in January the news was brought to Pope Gregory that outside the gates of Canossa King Henry was standing alone, barefooted and clad in the woollen garment of a humble penitent, begging the papal absolution. But the Pope refused to receive him, and for three days the King waited in vain for admittance.

The Pope's enemies have seen in this treatment of the King the act of an unmerciful tyrant. The best modern authorities now agree, however, that Gregory, by absolving the King, who came in the character of a private penitent, and releasing him from the sentence of excommunication, was annulling all the political importance of the coming Diet of Augsburg, and to some extent breaking faith with the nobles.

The Countess Matilda and Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, who had accompanied the Pope to Canossa, at length interceded on Henry's behalf, and Gregory consented to admit the King to his presence. With the cry "Holy Father save me!" the King is said to have thrown himself at the Pope's feet. Gregory raised him, absolved and released him from the sentence of excommunication, and gave him his blessing.

Much uncertainty still prevails with regard to the conditions on which the absolution was granted. It now seems clear, however, that the story of the hard conditions attached to the absolution by the Pope is an invention. It has been stated that Henry was forced to promise to appear at a certain time and place to answer the charges brought against him by his subjects. If acquitted by the Pope he would receive his kingdom back from the hands of the Pope, but if convicted he was to lose it for ever. Until the trial he was to resign the use of the royal insignia and appropriate no royal revenues except such as might be necessary for the bare maintenance of himself and his suite. (*Cf.* Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. iv, p. 98.)

It seems much more probable, however, that the Pope, being unable to refuse absolution to Henry when he sought it in the character of a private penitent, attached no conditions to the absolution, and the question of investiture remained as it was before. This view makes the triumph of Gregory less real than has frequently been supposed, for there is no evidence that Henry ever surrendered the claim to investiture.

It was not long before the papal excommunication was renewed against Henry, who continued to grant benefices as he pleased. Again the nobles made this an excuse for deserting the King, and war broke out. Henry was declared to be

deposed, and Rudolf of Swabia was chosen King of Germany. But after winning a great victory over Henry, Rudolf was slain on the battlefield.

In the year 1081 Henry marched with an army to Rome and attacked the city, but was repulsed. It was not until 1084, after three unsuccessful campaigns in Italy, that he at length took possession of Rome, and entered in triumph. Three years previous to his triumphal entry Henry had caused Guibert, Bishop of Ravenna, to be elected pope at Brixen by several Italian bishops. Guibert, who had assumed the title of Pope Clement III, now solemnly crowned Henry and his wife Bertha Emperor and Empress in St. Peter's.

Gregory VII, who had taken refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, now obtained help from the Norman Duke of Apulia, Robert Guiscard, whom he had formerly excommunicated. (*Vide* p. 247.) The Normans entered Rome, and Henry's army, enfeebled by malaria, was compelled to retreat. The city was then abandoned to fire and pillage at the hands of the Normans, and thousands of the inhabitants were carried away captive.

On the withdrawal of the Normans it was believed that Gregory's life would be in danger if he remained in the city. Bitterly humiliated he set out with a few of his cardinals to Salerno. There he lived for some months gradually getting weaker in health. He freely forgave all his enemies, and ordered that they should be released from excommunication with the exception of King Henry and the antipope Clement III.

On 25th May 1085 Gregory VII passed away. Just before his death he rallied strength to murmur the words: "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, and therefore I die in exile!" "Nay, not so my Father," said a prelate who stood by his bed. "Vicar of Christ and His Apostles in exile thou canst not die, who hast received the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession!"

Pope Gregory VII was buried in Salerno, in the church of St. Matthew, where his tomb may yet be seen. In 1584 he was beatified by Pope Gregory XIII, and was canonized by Pope Benedict XIII in 1728.

Gregorovius says of Gregory VII: "Gregory was the heir of the ancient aims of the papacy. But his unexampled genius as ruler and statesman is his own, and no one either in ancient Rome or in modern times has ever attained to his revolutionary daring. His true greatness lies behind his papacy. As Pope he

aimed too high, thinking in his brief moment of power to compass at once the work of centuries." (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. iv, pt. 1, pp. 256-259, *passim.*)

CLVII. VICTOR III, A.D. 1086-1087

(CLEMENT III, ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: HENRY IV, 1084-1106

ON his death-bed Pope Gregory VII had named certain prelates as suitable to succeed him, among them Desiderius Abbot of Monte Cassino, Hugh Archbishop of Lyons, and Otto Bishop of Ostia. The choice of the cardinals fell on Desiderius, who belonged to the Lombard family of the Dukes of Benevento. Although the heir to great wealth, he had insisted when still a youth on becoming a monk, much against the wishes of his relatives. By Pope Nicholas II he had been created Cardinal of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, and in 1058, had succeeded Pope Stephen X (*q.v.*) as Abbot of Monte Cassino.

Under his rule the monastery of Monte Cassino had increased greatly in prosperity. The moral and intellectual welfare of the monks, became his special care, and he also caused nearly the whole monastery to be rebuilt, and a splendid new church to be erected there. Desiderius had enjoyed the intimate friendship of Pope Gregory VII; being an aged man at the time of Gregory's death he had hoped to end his life peacefully at Monte Cassino. On being nominated by the cardinals, Desiderius firmly declined to undertake the great burden of the Papacy, and for a year no election was made to the Roman see. Meantime the antipope Clement III, who had been elected by Henry IV of Germany, returned to Rome (*vide* Gregory VII) and usurped the pontifical throne.

At length, in May 1086, the cardinals reassembled in Rome for the purpose of electing a new pope. Desiderius, who believed that his refusal had been accepted, obeyed the summons to attend this meeting. A proposal to elect the Bishop of Ostia was rejected, after which the assembled prelates unanimously demanded that Desiderius should be chosen pope. He was accordingly proclaimed pope under the name of Victor III on 24th May 1086. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 656.) He announced his intention to follow in the footsteps

of his illustrious predecessor Gregory VII, and confirmed the excommunication of Henry, King of Germany, by that Pope.

Almost immediately after the election of Victor, and before arrangements could be made for his consecration, the imperial prefect, who supported the antipope, took possession of the Capitol, and began to intrigue against the new Pope. Victor fled from Rome four days after his election. At Terracina he divested himself of his pontifical robes, and returned to Monte Cassino, as the simple Abbot of that monastery. In spite of remonstrances from all quarters, Victor remained at Monte Cassino for another year, during which time the antipope Clement again ruled in Rome.

Meantime Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, and Otto, Bishop of Ostia, declared against Pope Victor. Hugh accused the Pope of having intrigued against the party of the late Pope Gregory VII with Henry, King of Germany, and of having offered to crown Henry Emperor. A council was summoned by the cardinals to meet at Capua in March 1087, and was attended by bishops from Campania, Apulia and Calabria, and by many Norman princes. The presence of Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, who hoped to be elected pope, but whom Victor considered unsuitable, is said to have induced the latter voluntarily to accept the office which he had hitherto refused.

After keeping Easter at Monte Cassino, Victor set out for Rome, escorted by the Norman princes, Jordan of Capua, and Gisulf of Salerno, with a body of troops. With their help the antipope Clement was once more driven from St. Peter's, and other places held by his party were secured for Pope Victor. On 9th May 1087 Pope Victor III was at length consecrated in St. Peter's, nearly two years having elapsed since the death of his predecessor, Gregory VII. After remaining eight days in Rome, Pope Victor again returned to Monte Cassino. Scarcely had he arrived there when messengers came from Matilda, Countess of Tuscany (*vide ante*, p. 250), announcing that she had arrived in Rome with an army in order to support Victor against the antipope. Matilda therefore invited His Holiness to return to Rome to confer with her.

Pope Victor hastened to obey her summons, and was received by the Countess with every mark of consideration and respect. Matilda's troops forced an entrance for Victor into a portion of the city, and at her request he celebrated mass in St. Peter's, the Countess herself being present with all the officers of her army, who received the papal benediction.

The Countess had, however, no sooner withdrawn her troops from Rome, than scenes of bloodshed were once more witnessed between the rival parties of Victor and the antipope.

In July Pope Victor left Rome for the last time, and in the following July held a council at Benevento, when he solemnly excommunicated the antipope Clement, confirmed the decrees of Pope Gregory VII, against lay investiture, and forbade all the assembled bishops to communicate with Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons, or with the abbot of Marseilles, who had joined him.

While the council at Benevento was still sitting, Pope Victor became seriously ill and was obliged to return hastily to Monte Cassino. There, as his illness increased, he caused himself to be carried into the chapter-house, and in the presence of the assembled monks chose Oderisius, one of their number to succeed him as abbot. He also forbade the monks to alienate any of the property of the monastery, and made certain regulations for their future welfare. On the following day he nominated Otto, Bishop of Ostia as his successor in the Roman see. Three days after his return (16th September 1087), Pope Victor III died. He was buried as he had desired in the apse of the chapter-house, but in the sixteenth century his remains were transported to the Chapel of St. Bartharius in the church of the monastery.

Pope Victor was the author of four books on the miracles of St. Benedict, and of other monks of Monte Cassino. Three of these books have been preserved. During this pontificate an Italian expedition was organized by the cities of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, against the Saracens in Africa with the approval of the Pope, who sent to the leaders a standard of St. Peter, and promised to all who should engage in the enterprise remission of their sins. The troops, after committing dreadful ravages in Africa, returned laden with booty.

CLVIII. URBAN II, A.D. 1088-1099

(CLEMENT III, ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: HENRY IV, 1084-1106

FOR over five months after the death of Victor III, the Roman see remained vacant owing to the unsettled condition of the city. At length, in March 1088, an ecclesiastical council assembled at Terracina, Rome being occupied by

the partisans of the antipope, Clement. (*Vide* Victor III.) This council was attended by about forty bishops and abbots, by the Papal Prefect from Rome, and by representatives from Germany and from the Countess Matilda of Tuscany. After the usual three days' fast, Otto, the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was elected pope, and was solemnly consecrated as Urban II on 12th March 1088.

Urban was a Frenchman, a native of Chatillon-sur-Marne, the son of Eucher, lord of Lagery near Rheims. After studying at Rheims, he had entered Cluny, of which monastery he became prior in 1076. By Pope Gregory VII he was created Cardinal-bishop of Ostia in 1078, and afterwards acted as papal legate to France and Germany. He is described as a prelate of great eloquence and of commanding presence. His monastic sympathies made him a firm friend to the monks, and during his pontificate he granted an enormous number of privileges to monasteries. During the greater part of his pontificate, Urban II lived out of Rome, the city being held by the adherents of the antipope Clement.

Soon after his consecration he renewed the alliance with the Normans of southern Italy, among whom he lived for several months, and in November 1088 entered Rome with a Norman army. Scenes of bloodshed followed, and the party of Urban only succeeded in establishing themselves in the island of St. Bartholomew in the Tiber. There Urban remained in great poverty, depending for sustenance chiefly on the alms of the Roman matrons. The greatest confusion reigned in the city, and synods were held both by the Pope and antipope, at which they solemnly anathematized and excommunicated each other.

Urban did not remain long in Rome, but made a progress through Italy, holding synods at Melfi, Benevento, Salerno, and other places, where the decrees of Gregory VII against lay investiture were confirmed, and anathemas pronounced against the Emperor Henry IV and the antipope Clement. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 668.) Some writers state that it was in order to strengthen his position against his enemies that Pope Urban persuaded the Countess Matilda of Tuscany to marry as her second husband, Guelf, the younger son of the Duke of Bavaria. Matilda was then forty-two, and her young husband a youth of eighteen.

The Emperor Henry IV, greatly incensed on hearing of this marriage, at once proceeded with an army to Italy. After

reducing several strongholds in Lombardy, belonging to the Countess, he invested the city of Mantua, which fell into his hands after a siege of eleven months. The success of the Emperor increased the hopes of the antipope's party, and Clement was once more installed, after much bloodshed, in the Lateran, and regained possession of St. Peter's. After his successful campaign against Matilda of Tuscany, Henry IV returned to Germany, leaving his son Conrad to carry on his conquests in Lombardy. Soon after the Emperor's departure, Conrad was won over to join Matilda and her party against his father. With the support of Matilda and Pope Urban, Conrad was crowned King of Italy at Milan, by Anselm, Archbishop of that city. This caused the Emperor to lose ground, and at Christmas 1093 Urban II was again installed in St. Peter's to the great joy of his adherents. But as the antipope Clement still held the Lateran Palace and the Castle of St. Angelo, Pope Urban was forced to accept the hospitality of a Roman noble of the family of Frangipani. While there he received a large sum of money from the wealthy abbot Godfrey, of Vendôme. With part of this Urban was able to obtain possession of the Lateran Palace by bribing the governor to hand it over to him. After residing there for a short time he was again forced to leave Rome, and was invited to accept the protection of Matilda of Tuscany.

In March 1095, Pope Urban presided over a large assembly of bishops and other clerics at Piacenza. Ambassadors appeared from the Eastern Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, to implore the aid of the princes of Europe against the Saracens. The Pope promised assistance, and for this purpose convened another assembly to meet at Clermont in Auvergne in the following August. At the Council of Piacenza the Empress Adelaide, second wife of Henry IV, appeared to make grave charges against her husband. Whether true or false these charges served to injure the cause of Henry. Philip of France was threatened with excommunication by this council for dismissing his lawful wife, and marrying Bertrada, the wife of Fulk of Anjou.

France had been already prepared for the meeting of the famous council of Clermont. About the year 1092, Peter the Hermit, a French monk of Amiens, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. While there his wrath was stirred by witnessing the dishonoured condition of the Holy Sepulchre, and the cruel oppression of Christian pilgrims by the Mohammedan Turks.

Encouraged it is said by a vision of the Saviour, who bade him fear nothing, but pursue the work which he had determined to accomplish, he journeyed by sea to Italy, and sought an interview with Pope Urban II. The latter eagerly sympathized with Peter's design, which was to rouse the princes of Europe to rescue the holy places of Palestine from the Turks, and promised his help and co-operation. It was chiefly in order that he might fulfil this promise that Pope Urban had convened a council in his native land. Meanwhile Peter journeyed through Italy and France, preaching to vast crowds of people, who assembled to hear him.

So large were the numbers which gathered at Clermont in November 1095, that no building was of sufficient size to contain them, and Urban was obliged to address them in the open air. The eloquence of Urban moved many to tears, and he was frequently interrupted in the midst of his discourse by those eager to offer themselves for service against the infidels. It was solemnly decreed by the Pope that whosoever set out, not for honour or glory, but to rescue the Church of Christ, should receive pardon for all his past sins and a sure reward in Paradise.

Among those who joined this first crusade was Raymond of Toulouse, the most powerful nobleman in southern France, Robert of Normandy, the Conqueror's eldest son, and Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine. This was the origin of these famous crusades, of which there were seven altogether during the next two hundred years. Although they failed in the object for which they were inaugurated, they had an important influence on the history of Europe. One of their most obvious effects was to raise the prestige of the papacy, the Pope being looked upon as the promoter of the crusades. They also brought much wealth into the papal coffers, for many wealthy nobles were slain in these wars, and their property passed into the hands of the Church. Another result was to bring the West into touch with the learning and the art of the East. Agriculture too was improved by the introduction of new trees, fruits, and vegetables, which the crusaders brought back.

At the council of Clermont, Philip I, King of France, was solemnly excommunicated by the Pope for refusing to take back his lawful wife Bertha.

One of the immediate results of the inauguration of the first crusade was to bring about the overthrow of the antipope Clement, and the general acknowledgment of Urban II as the

lawful pope. A body of crusaders who passed through Rome on their way to the East are said to have driven out Clement, who soon afterwards retired to his archbishopric of Ravenna.

William Rufus, who had at first adhered to the antipope, had by this time acknowledged Urban as lawful pope. Urban II spent the last year of his pontificate in Rome in comparative peace. In 1098 Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, visited Rome, and was received with much honour by Pope Urban, who supported him in his quarrel with William Rufus on the subject of investitures. (*Cf.* "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," An. 1097.) Anselm accompanied the Pope in a progress through southern Italy, and at Salerno Urban appointed the Norman Count Roger of Sicily his Apostolic legate in that island. At a council afterwards held by the Pope at Bari, several Greek bishops were present, and the old controversy concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son was revived. Anselm of Canterbury distinguished himself at this council by his wisdom and learning in the disputes with the Greeks.

One of Pope Urban's last acts was to hold a council in Rome shortly after Easter 1099, and to confirm the decrees of his predecessors against lay investiture. The Lateran Palace having fallen into ruins, Pope Urban was unable to take up his residence there, but dwelt in a fortified house, belonging to one of his supporters, near the church of St. Nicolo in Carcere. There he died on 29th July 1099, and was buried in St. Peter's, whither his remains were conveyed by a circuitous route, in case of a rising of the adherents of the antipope. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 294.)

CLIX. PASCAL II, A.D. 1099-1118

(CLEMENT III, THEODORIC, ALBERT, SYLVESTER IV, ANTIPOPES)

Emperors: HENRY IV to 1106; HENRY V, 1106-1125 (crowned 1111)

ON 13th August 1099 Rainerius, a native of Bleda, in Tuscany, the son of Crescentius, was elected pope in the church of St. Clement in Rome. His consecration took place in St. Peter's on the following day, when he took the name of Pascal II. The new pope, a Benedictine, of Cluny, had at an early age won the favour of Pope Gregory VII, by whom he

was made Cardinal-priest of St. Clement's, and also abbot of the monastery of St. Laurence without-the-Walls. It is recorded of him that he showed the greatest disinclination to accept the burden of the papacy, and his troubled pontificate of nearly nineteen years justified his early fears.

The antipope Clement III (Guibert) again attempted to usurp the papal chair after the death of Urban II (*vide* Gregory VII, etc.), but he was quickly driven out, and died in the following year. The imperial party then chose a successor named Theodoric, who was, however, taken prisoner soon after his election, and confined in a monastery. Another antipope, Albert, elected in place of Theodoric, was captured and imprisoned in the monastery of St. Laurence, and a third, named Maginolf, who took the name of Sylvester IV, was also driven from Rome, and was finally deposed by the Emperor himself in 1111, after the latter had made peace with Pascal. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. 772-774.)

Although Pascal was now generally recognized as lawful pope, he was not allowed to rule in peace, but was constantly harassed by the nobles of the imperial party. Soon after his elevation, news reached Rome of the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders. (*Vide* Urban II.) Although a Christian kingdom and a Latin church were established there, quarrels soon arose between the new king and the patriarch, and the latter was deposed for attempting to rule independently of the Roman see.

Pascal took the side of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his quarrel with Henry I concerning lay investiture. Henry insisted on his right to invest Anselm in the temporalities of the see of Canterbury with the spiritual symbols, but the latter preferred to leave England rather than submit to the King in this respect. Henry was, however, unwilling to quarrel with the Pope, whom he suspected of a desire to support the claims of Robert of Normandy, his elder brother, to the throne of England. Robert had, moreover, won the favour of the Pope by engaging in the first crusade. (*Vide ante*, p. 258.) The controversy between Henry and Anselm continued for several years, but the former, on being threatened with excommunication by the Pope, at length gave way, and a compromise was arranged. (*Cf.* William of Malmesbury, "English Chronicle," ed. Bohn, v, pp. 447-448.) During this pontificate Henry I refused to permit a papal legate to enter England.

At a council held at Poitiers in the year 1100 the sentence

of excommunication against Philip, King of France, had been renewed by a papal legate. (*Vide* Urban II.) It was not until 1109 that Philip sought and obtained the papal absolution by publicly declaring that he would renounce all intercourse with Bertrada, the wife of Fulk of Anjou. Pascal authorized the Bishop of Arras to hold a council in Paris and absolve the King on 2nd December 1109

In 1102 Conrad, King of Italy, the elder son of the Emperor Henry IV died, full of remorse for his rebellion against his father. (*Vide ante*, p. 257.) The Emperor, with the consent of the German nobles, had taken his younger son Henry as his partner in the Empire. In 1104 Henry was persuaded by a party among the nobles to rebel against his father. Civil war broke out, and in December the Emperor was invited to a friendly meeting with his son near Mainz, where he was treacherously taken prisoner, and confined in a strong fortress. The young Henry declared that while his father remained under sentence of excommunication, no allegiance was due to him. He further promised to renounce all claim to lay investiture, and by this means won the support of the Pope. The Emperor was obliged to abdicate in favour of his son. Although a reaction soon afterwards took place in his favour, he died at Liège in 1106, broken hearted by the rebellion of his son and still under the ban of the Pope. The young King Henry V failed to fulfil his promises to renounce lay investiture, and the Pope set out for France to seek the help of Philip and his son Louis. At St. Denis he was honourably received by the King and his son, who promised their assistance.

King Henry V had summoned the Pope to Germany, and heard with indignation that instead of obeying he had gone to France. As Henry was, however, anxious to receive a papal coronation, negotiations for a reconciliation between them were set on foot, and the Pope returned to Rome in 1107. It was not, however, until 1110 that Henry obtained leisure to set out for Italy with an army of 30,000 horsemen. After keeping Christmas at Florence, the King advanced to Rome, receiving on the way the homage of Matilda, Countess of Tuscany. Henry sent an embassy in advance to the Pope, who appears to have either agreed or proposed that if the King would give up his claim to investiture, the clergy would surrender all property held under the Crown, and be content to be supported by tithes and voluntary offerings. The patrimony of St. Peter

was, however, to be spared. Henry proceeded to St. Peter's for his coronation on Sunday, 12th February, entering by way of the Leonine suburb, where he was received with the usual honours. Before the ceremony the agreement made between Henry and the Pope was read, and at once produced a storm of indignation from the assembled clergy. It was found impossible to proceed to the coronation, and after a violent dispute armed men seized the Pope with sixteen of his cardinals and imprisoned them in a fortified house near St. Peter's.

Two of the cardinals escaped, and roused the Romans against the Germans. A fierce battle raged in the streets, and scenes of horrible carnage followed. At length, on the night of 15th February, Henry withdrew with his troops to the Sabina, taking the Pope and the cardinals with him. Pascal still refused to give way with regard to investiture, and for two months the Germans ravaged the neighbourhood of Rome. At length Henry threatened to put all the prisoners to death unless the Pope gave way, and the cardinals threw themselves at his feet imploring him to yield. "I am compelled for the deliverance of the Church and for the sake of peace to yield," he said, "but I would never have yielded to save my own life." An agreement was then drawn up between the Pope and King Henry, the Pope agreeing to surrender to the King the right of investiture over the bishops and abbots of the Empire, and solemnly promising not to anathematize or excommunicate Henry, or to take any revenge for what had taken place. The King on his side promised to set free the Pope and his cardinals, and to restore all the church property which he had seized. Henry then re-entered St. Peter's by way of the Leonine suburb, and was crowned Emperor by the Pope on 13th April 1111. The ceremony took place in private, the gates being closed to keep out the Romans, lest there should be another tumult.

No sooner had the victorious Emperor left Rome, than a storm of indignation arose against the Pope. The clergy, with the exception of the cardinals who had been imprisoned with him, all blamed him bitterly for yielding to the Emperor the right of investiture. Although Pascal did his utmost to calm the tumult, synods were held in different places by the schismatic cardinals, who threatened to elect a new pope.

At length, in March 1112, Pope Pascal assembled a council in the Lateran, and declared to the assembled clergy that he had been driven by force to make the compact with the

Emperor, and although he now desired to withdraw from it, he had passed his word not to excommunicate Henry. The bishops, however, pronounced the compact null and void, and in the course of the same and the following year a papal legate and several bishops pronounced sentence of excommunication against Henry, although the Pope refrained from doing so.

On 24th July 1115 the great Countess Matilda of Tuscany died, leaving her estates to the church. On hearing of this the Emperor decided to proceed to Italy to seize the estates himself. After the arrival of the Emperor in Lombardy, Pascal summoned another synod in the Lateran in March 1116, when the compact made with Henry concerning investitures was again condemned The Pope refused to excommunicate the Emperor at this synod, but permitted the Archbishop of Milan to do so shortly afterwards.

A tumult now arose in Rome concerning the election of a new prefect. The enemies of the Pope rejected the papal candidate, and chose a nominee of their own. Fighting took place in the streets, and though the papal troops were at first victorious, Pope Pascal was obliged to leave Rome and withdraw to Sezza, in the Volscian mountains.

Meantime, the Emperor, having taken peaceful possession of the estates of the deceased Countess, marched to Rome. The Pope, who had just returned to the city, again fled at Henry's approach. Being now determined to receive a public coronation, as his former one had been private, Henry induced Burdinus, Archbishop of Braga, in Portugal, to crown him Emperor in St. Peter's on Easter Day 1117. On hearing of this, Pascal, who was at Benevento, assembled a synod and solemnly excommunicated Burdinus. Shortly afterwards a reaction took place in favour of the Pope, who, with the assistance of troops provided by the Normans and by certain of the Roman nobility, re-entered Rome. But he came only to die. Pope Pascal II passed away on the night of 21st January 1118. The enemy being in possession of St. Peter's, his body was buried in the Lateran church.

CLX. GELASIUS II, A.D. 1118-1119

(GREGORY VIII (BURDINUS), ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: HENRY V, 1106-1125

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Pascal II the cardinals decided to proceed to a new election, lest the Emperor Henry V, who was then in Lombardy, should put forward a candidate of his own choice. The conclave accordingly assembled on 24th January 1118 in the Benedictine monastery of Sta. Maria in Pallara on the Palatine, and elected John of Gaeta, Cardinal of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, and papal chancellor, who had been hastily summoned from Monte Cassino. John, who was old and infirm, begged to be spared so great a burden, but the cardinals, knowing that he was opposed to lay investiture, that he had strongly supported Popes Urban II and Pascal II in their struggle with the Emperor, and had been one of the cardinals who shared the imprisonment and hardships of the latter pope, insisted on his acceptance.

John belonged to a noble family of Gaeta, had embraced the monastic life in Monte Cassino under the famous Abbot Oderisius, and had been made Cardinal-deacon and chancellor of the Roman see by Pope Urban II. The new pope had scarcely been proclaimed as Gelasius II, when the church of the monastery was invaded by a band of armed men, led by Cencius Frangipani, one of the most powerful nobles in Rome, and an adherent of the Emperor. Frangipani seized the Pope by the throat, threw him to the ground, trampled on him with his spurs, and dragged him bleeding from the church. He was then conveyed on horseback to the house of Frangipani, where he was confined in a dungeon. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," vol. ii, ed. Duchesne, p. 313.)

The prelates who were with the Pope were similarly treated, some of them being seriously wounded. On hearing of this outrage, the opposite party, led by Peter, Prefect of the city, and by Pierleone, a powerful noble then attached to the papal interests, surrounded the house of Frangipani and demanded the release of the Pope. As they threatened to put all within to the sword if Gelasius were not immediately delivered up to them, Frangipani, terrified, set His Holiness at liberty. Mounted on a white horse, the Pope was conveyed in triumph

to the Lateran Palace, amid the rejoicing of the Romans. As he was still only a deacon, arrangements were in progress for his ordination as a priest and his consecration as pope, when the Emperor Henry V suddenly arrived in Rome.

The Pope sought refuge in the house of a friend, and next day set out for Portus with some of his cardinals. There they embarked on two vessels, with the intention of escaping to Gaeta, the Pope's native city. But a violent storm impeded their progress, and German troops sent by the Emperor pursued them along the shore, casting showers of arrows and stones at the fugitives. Under cover of night the aged Pope and his party at length landed at some distance from Portus, but he was so spent with exhaustion that he could not walk. Cardinal Hugh of Alatri carried him on his shoulders to the castle of St. Paul, near Ardea, where he found shelter for the night. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," vol. ii, ed. Duchesne, p. 314.) Next day the Germans, believing that the Pope had escaped, gave up the pursuit, and Gelasius, re-embarking, reached Gaeta five days after leaving Rome. There he was honourably received, the Norman princes promising him their support. He was there ordained priest, and afterwards consecrated Pope on 10th March 1118. (*Cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 775.)

The Emperor Henry V now made overtures to Gelasius, offering to acknowledge him as lawful pope if he would yield to him in the matter of investiture. (*Vide* pp. 261, 262.) This, however, the Pope steadfastly refused to do. Henry, greatly incensed, then caused Mauritius Burdinus, Archbishop of Braga, who had previously crowned him Emperor (*vide* p. 263), to be elected pope, with the title of Gregory VIII. Gelasius, on hearing of this, solemnly excommunicated both the Emperor and the antipope.

A letter is extant, written by Pope Gelasius at this time to all the bishops and faithful people of Gaul, in which he acquaints them with his promotion, and also with the usurpation of the antipope. The Pope also wrote at this time to Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, ordering him to appoint another archbishop to the see of Braga in place of Burdinus. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 776.)

In June 1118, after the withdrawal of the Emperor, Gelasius set out for Rome under the protection of Robert, the Norman Prince of Capua, and William, Duke of Apulia. Some misunderstanding seems, however, to have arisen between the Pope and the Normans on the way, and he was obliged to

enter Rome without his escort. For some time Gelasius lived in concealment in a friend's house, the antipope Gregory VIII meantime ruling in Rome.

At length, on the festival of St. Praxedes (21st July), Gelasius was persuaded to celebrate mass publicly in the church of that saint. While the service was going on the church was again surrounded by armed men with Frangipani at their head. The Pope succeeded in escaping, while the troops of Frangipani engaged in a desperate fight with the Normans, which ended only at nightfall. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 316.) The aged Pope was afterwards found by his friends in a field, near the church of St. Paul-without-the-Walls.

He was brought back to Rome, but as the party of the antipope still prevailed in the city, he resolved to set out for France to seek the aid of King Louis VI. He appointed Peter, Bishop of Portus, his vicar during his absence, and sailed from Ostia on 2nd September. Landing at Pisa, he there consecrated the new church of St. Mary. From thence he continued his voyage to Genoa, where he consecrated the church of St. Laurence (*cf.* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 778), and reached St. Gilles in Provence early in November. In France he was received with every mark of respect, the people hastening to supply his needs. King Louis despatched Suger, abbot of St. Denis, to meet him, with rich presents and assurances of the royal protection. Gelasius visited many cities of France, consecrating churches and ordaining bishops. He also appointed a council to meet at Rheims in the following year, to deal with the dispute concerning investiture. But early in the year 1119 he was seized with illness, and caused himself to be conveyed to the monastery of Cluny. There he died of pleurisy on 29th January 1119. He was buried in the church of the monastery of Cluny.

Gregorovius, writing of this pontiff, says: "His pontificate had only lasted a year and four days, and within this space of time the sorrows of a whole life had been compressed. No sensitive man can look unmoved by feelings of sympathy on the unfortunate figure of this last sacrifice to the struggle for investiture."

Pope Gelasius II was the author of a prose life of the martyr Erasmus, Bishop of Gaeta, and of the lives of SS. Anatola and Caesarius in verse.

CLXI. CALIXTUS II, A.D. 1119-1124

(GREGORY VIII, ANTIPOPE)

Emperor: HENRY V, 1106-1125

POPE GELASIUS II on his death-bed at Cluny had named as his successor Conon, Cardinal of Palestrina. The latter, however, excused himself on account of his weak health, and suggested Guido, Archbishop of Vienne, as a suitable prelate to fill the Roman see. His suggestion was immediately adopted by all the cardinals present.

Guido was the fifth son of William Tête Hardie, Count of Burgundy, and was related by blood and by the marriages of his numerous relatives to the royal houses of England, France, and Germany. He had strongly supported his predecessors in their struggle against lay investiture, and as Archbishop of Vienne had held a council in that city in 1112, at which he excommunicated the Emperor Henry V.

Guido refused to receive consecration as pope until his election had been confirmed by the Roman cardinals and people. Their unanimous consent was, however, readily obtained, and he was consecrated at Vienne according to most authorities on 9th February 1119, taking the name of Calixtus II.

The new pope remained in France until the meeting of the Council of Rheims, which had been summoned by his predecessor. This council met in October 1119, and was attended by fifteen archbishops, two hundred bishops, and a large number of abbots and other clerics. After confirming the canons against simony, lay investiture, and the concubinage of the clergy, Calixtus renewed the Truce of God, an agreement by which at certain stated periods war was to cease throughout Christendom. Louis, King of France, appeared in person at this council to complain against Henry I of England, who had refused to do him homage as a vassal for Normandy, and had imprisoned Robert his own brother, the rightful Duke of Normandy, in England.

The Emperor Henry V had consented to treat concerning a reconciliation with the Pope. (*Vide* p. 265.) While the council was still sitting, Calixtus set out to meet the Emperor, who had encamped about sixty miles from Rheims. On learning that Henry had brought with him an army of 30,000 men,

the Pope, fearing treachery, did not proceed so far as the camp, but sent forward his envoys to treat concerning peace. No satisfactory agreement was, however, found to be possible, and the Pope returned to Rheims. On 29th October, the last day of the council, the Emperor and the antipope Gregory VIII (*vide ante*, p. 265) were solemnly anathematized by all the assembled bishops. Thurstan, Archbishop-elect of York, attended this council, and received consecration from the Pope, although he thus incurred the severe displeasure of Henry I, who had permitted him to attend the council only on condition that he would not apply for papal consecration. (*Vide* "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," An. 1119.)

After leaving Rheims Pope Calixtus went to Gisors in Normandy, where he had an interview with Henry I of England. The King obtained from the Pope confirmation of all the rights granted by his predecessors to the English Church, including the privilege that no papal legate might enter England without the King's consent. (*Cf.* Jafté, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 790.) Calixtus afterwards made a progress through France, and before leaving that country issued a bull, granting special privileges to the see of Vienne. He then set out for Italy, where he was received everywhere with great joy, and reached Rome on 3rd June 1120. At his approach the antipope Gregory VIII retired to Sutri.

After a short stay in Rome, where he was solemnly enthroned, Calixtus went south to receive the homage of the Norman princes. The Normans readily promised their help against the antipope, and early in 1121 a Norman army appeared before Rome. Calixtus despatched the Normans under the leadership of Cardinal John of Crema to besiege the antipope at Sutri, and soon afterwards followed himself. The inhabitants of Sutri were soon induced to deliver up the antipope to the Normans, who treated him with great cruelty. Clothed in a bloody sheepskin, to represent the papal mantle, he was conveyed to Rome on a camel, with his face to the tail, and exposed to the insults of the people. He spent the remainder of his life imprisoned in different monasteries.

The Emperor Henry V now saw the necessity of becoming reconciled to the lawful pope if peace was to be restored to the Empire. Terms of reconciliation were accordingly discussed, at several German diets, in the presence of papal envoys. At length, in September 1122, the famous Concordat of Worms was signed in that city in presence of a great

assembly. Two documents were drawn up, the one being signed by the Emperor and the other by the Pope. The Emperor promised to abandon his claim to investiture with the ring and crozier, and granted freedom of election to all episcopal sees throughout the Empire. The Pope, on his side, promised that all elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor or his representatives. The elected prelates were to be invested by the Emperor, with the temporalities of their sees, by the touch of the sceptre, immediately after their election if it took place in Germany, but if elsewhere, then within six months after consecration. (*Vide* Henderson's "Historical Documents," ed. Bohn, pp. 408-409.) This treaty ended the long struggle concerning lay investiture, which had extended over half a century.

In March 1123 Pope Calixtus II presided at the first Lateran and ninth General Council, which was attended by three hundred bishops, six hundred abbots, and clergy from all parts of the Catholic world. The Concordat of Worms was there solemnly ratified. Decrees were issued granting special indulgences to all those who should take part in a crusade (*cf.* p. 258) and also to their families.

During the last year of his pontificate Calixtus laboured to restore the patrimony of the Church, which had become greatly reduced under his predecessors. He also caused the Lateran to be repaired, and built there a new chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas of Bari.

On 13th December 1124 Pope Calixtus II died of a Roman fever, and was buried in the Lateran church. He was the author of several works, including a "Life of Charlemagne" and a treatise on the "Miracles of St. James."

CLXII. HONORIUS II, A.D. 1124-1130

(CELESTINE II, uninvested)

Emperors: HENRY V to 1125; LOTHAIR of Saxony, 1125-1137

TWO factions divided Rome after the death of Calixtus II, the one led by the powerful family of Pierleoni, and the other by the Frangipani. (*Vide ante*, p. 264.) The Frangipani had chosen as their candidate Lambert, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and had asked for a delay of three days in order that they might raise supporters for him.

On 15th December 1124 the cardinals assembled in the chapel of the monastery of St. Pancratius, and chose Theobald Boccadipecora, Cardinal-priest of St. Anastasia, who took the name of Celestine. But while the "Te Deum" was being sung Robert Frangipani and his partisans suddenly raised the cry, "Lambert is Pope!" He was immediately seized and clothed in the pontifical robes.

Scenes of tumult followed the double election, and for some days Rome was in a condition of anarchy. Theobald, however, soon consented humbly to resign his claims, and a few days later, Lambert, whose election had not been canonical, also resigned of his own accord. The latter was then unanimously re-elected by the cardinals and people, and took the name of Honorius II, his consecration taking place on 21st December.

The new pope was a native of Bologna and was of humble birth, but had a great reputation for learning. He had been created Cardinal-priest of Ostia by Pascal II in 1117, and had supported Gelasius II in his struggle against investiture. Under Calixtus II he had been sent to Germany as papal legate, and the agreement known as the Concordat of Worms is said to have been brought about mainly by his exertions.

In the first year of this pontificate the Emperor Henry V died, without heirs, and Lothair, Duke of Saxony, was chosen as his successor. In the year 1127 William, the Norman Duke of Apulia, died, and his relative, Roger of Sicily, proceeded to Italy with an army, in order to lay claim to his estates. The Pope declared that the late Duke had left all his lands and possessions to St. Peter, and accordingly hastened to Apulia to excommunicate Roger. Honorius then raised troops against Roger, but the latter wisely refused to fight, and the small papal army was soon obliged to disband for want of food. On condition that the Pope absolved him from the sentence of excommunication Roger agreed to receive investiture of the estates from His Holiness, and to do homage for them.

The Pope had recognized Lothair of Germany as King of the Romans, and solemnly excommunicated Conrad, nephew of the late King Henry V, who had attempted to seize the throne of Germany. Honorius also confirmed the excommunication of his predecessors against William, son of Robert of Normandy, on account of his marriage with the daughter of Fulk of Anjou, who was related to him within the forbidden degrees.

During this pontificate Cardinal John of Crema was sent to England as papal legate with the consent of Henry I. (*Vide* Calixtus II.) John also visited Scotland, and delivered a letter from the Pope to King David, with whom he had an interview on the banks of the Tweed. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 825.) On his return from Scotland John held a council at Westminster to regulate the affairs of the English Church, and to confirm the decrees passed at previous councils. At the close of this council he summoned the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, between whom there had been a long-continued dispute concerning the supremacy of the see of Canterbury, to attend him to Rome, in order that the Pope might deal with the question at issue. (*Cf.* Rev. H. K. Mann, "Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages," vol. viii, p. 291.)

During the whole of the last year of his pontificate Pope Honorius was seriously ill. When he felt death approaching, he caused himself to be carried to the fortified monastery of St. Gregory, in the quarter of the city held by the Frangipani, in order that his partisans might be at hand in case of a riot. There he died on 13th February 1130, and was buried in the Lateran church.

CLXIII. INNOCENT II, A.D. 1130-1143

(Anacletus II and Victor IV, Antipopes)

Emperors: Lothair of Saxony to 1137; Conrad III, 1138-1152

ON 14th February 1130 a double papal election took place in Rome. The cardinal-bishops, supported by the family of the Frangipani, met in the monastery of St. Gregory, on the Clivus Scauri, and chose as pope, Gregory, Cardinal of St. Angelo, who took the name of Innocent II. He was a Roman, of the Trastevere, the son of John, and a descendant of the ancient family of the Papareschi.

Three hours later the remaining cardinals, with a large majority of the citizens and nobles, elected Peter, Cardinal-priest of St. Maria in Trastevere. Peter belonged to the Jewish family of Pierleoni, his grandfather Peter having been converted to Christianity in the pontificate of Leo IX.

Both popes received consecration on 23rd February, Innocent in the church of Sta. Maria Nuova (now called Sta. Francesca Romana), and Peter, who took the name of Anacletus II

in St. Peter's. Anacletus, who was supported by the wealthier party in Rome, is said to have increased the number of his adherents by bribery, and in order to supply himself with funds, robbed the churches, beginning with St. Peter's, of all their rich ornaments, treasures, and plate.

Innocent II, finding himself deserted even by the Frangipani, decided to leave Rome and proceed to France. Anacletus and the Romans meantime made overtures to Lothair, King of Germany, and other princes, but to their letters Lothair vouchsafed no reply. They, however, succeeded in attaching to their side the Norman Roger of Sicily, who was crowned King by Anacletus.

At a council summoned by Louis of France, at Etampes, to examine the claims of the two rival popes, Innocent was so ably defended by Bernard, the famous abbot of Clairvaux, that Louis and the assembled bishops agreed to acknowledge him as lawful pope. Through the influence of Bernard other princes of Europe, including Henry I of England, were also brought to acknowledge Innocent. At a council held at Würzburg, in Germany, the German prelates also agreed to acknowledge him.

Meantime Pope Innocent landed in Provence, where he was honourably received. At Clermont he held a council, and from thence proceeded to Orleans, where he was met by King Louis and his family. At a meeting which took place at Liège, in March 1131, between Pope Innocent and Lothair, King of Germany, the latter promised to establish the Pope in Rome on condition of receiving at his hands the imperial crown. In the following October Innocent presided at a council at Rheims, when the antipope Anacletus was excommunicated. Louis of France and his young son (afterwards Louis VII) were present, and the latter was crowned by Pope Innocent.

In the spring of 1032, Innocent returned to Italy, and a few months later Lothair arrived in that country with an army. After an interview with Lothair at Piacenza, Innocent went to Pisa, where he reconciled that city with Genoa, and persuaded both republics to unite their fleets to assist him against the Romans.

In April 1133 Lothair and Innocent arrived with the German army before Rome. Anacletus retired to the fortress of St. Angelo, but Lothair, owing to the insufficient number of his troops, was unable to drive out the antipope or to gain complete possession of the city. Meantime, however, the fleet

sent from Pisa and Genoa forced Civita Vecchia and other cities of the coast to submit to Pope Innocent. The imperial troops also gained possession of the Lateran, and there, on 4th June 1133, Innocent crowned Lothair and his wife Richenza, Emperor and Empress, St. Peter's being held by the partisans of the antipope. On the withdrawal of the Emperor from Rome the strength of the antipope's party made it impossible for Innocent to remain in the city. He therefore retired to Pisa, where he summoned another council and again excommunicated the antipope.

Meantime Bernard of Clairvaux continued to work in the interests of Innocent, and induced Milan, as well as other cities in Lombardy, to acknowledge him as lawful pope. Anacletus, with the support of Roger, King of Sicily, was, however, able to maintain his position in Rome for four years longer. At length, in 1137, the Emperor Lothair again set out for Italy at the head of a powerful army, with the intention of proceeding against Roger of Sicily.

On his march through Italy he successfully reduced several cities which had recognized the antipope, and proceeded south to Benevento accompanied by Pope Innocent. The imperial troops had little difficulty in driving Roger from Apulia, and, after taking Salerno, Lothair extended his power over the greater part of southern Italy. He then decided to establish a new Duke in Apulia, and chose Rainulph, Count of Avellino, who had married Roger's sister. A dispute now arose, and continued for a whole month, between the Pope and the Emperor, as to which of them had the right to invest the new Duke with his territories. It was at length decided that both should do so, and, after doing homage to the Pope and the Emperor Rainulph was solemnly invested by both with the Dukedom of Apulia and Calabria.

On his return journey to Germany the Emperor Lothair fell ill, and died in an Alpine hut in the Tyrol on 3rd December 1137. He was succeeded in Germany by Conrad III, the nephew of Henry V, and first of the great Hohenstaufen race to ascend the German throne. After the withdrawal of the Emperor from Italy, Innocent II retired for a time to Benevento, but the death of his rival, Anacletus II, on 25th January 1138, opened the way for his return to Rome.

The adherents of Anacletus, however, with the support of Roger of Sicily, elected a new antipope—the Cardinal-priest Gregory, who took the name of Victor IV. But after Victor

had held the title of Pope for about two months, he was persuaded by Bernard of Clairvaux, who had accompanied the Emperor to Italy, and who was still in Rome, to resign his claims.

At Whitsuntide, 1138, Innocent II was acknowledged as the true pope by the Romans, and even by the Pierleoni family. In April 1139 the tenth General Council, to which all the bishops of the West were summoned, assembled in the Lateran. A thousand bishops, including five from England, are said to have been present. At this council Roger of Sicily was solemnly excommunicated, and the doctrines of Arnold of Brescia (*vide infra*), a disciple of the famous Abelard, were condemned.

Meantime Roger of Sicily had driven out Rainulph, and retaken possession of all the territories from which he had been driven by the Emperor Lothair. In the summer of 1139 Pope Innocent II took the field with an army against Roger, but was defeated and taken prisoner along with several of his cardinals. The Normans, however, treated the Pope with great kindness and consideration, and soon a reconciliation was effected. The Pope consented to absolve Roger from the sentence of excommunication, and to acknowledge him as King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia, and ruler of the principality of Calabria. Roger did homage for his lands to the Pope, and promised to pay to the see of Peter a fixed sum of money yearly.

Soon after the return of the Pope to Rome disturbances broke out between him and the Romans. For some time the inhabitants of Tivoli had been at war both with the Pope and the Romans. Finding themselves attacked on all sides, they at length decided to surrender themselves to the Pope, promising to grant Tivoli and all its dominions to him. The Romans were greatly enraged on hearing of this treaty, and declared that as they had conquered Tivoli it was their right to rule it. A rebellion thus arose against the Pope, and the Romans determined to restore the ancient Senate. In the midst of these disturbances Pope Innocent II fell ill, and died on 24th September 1143. He was buried in the Lateran church in a marble coffin, which is said to have been the Emperor Hadrian's. His body was afterwards transferred to the church of St. Maria in Trastevere, which he had rebuilt. A very large number of rights and privileges granted by this Pope to bishops and monasteries are enumerated. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. i, pp. 841, 911.)

During this pontificate St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, made a pilgrimage to Rome in order to visit the tomb of the Apostles, and was received with much honour by Pope Innocent. Innocent imposed an interdict on France on account of a quarrel which he had with King Louis VII, respecting the choice of an archbishop to the see of Bourges. This interdict remained in force until the next pontificate.

CLXIV. CELESTINE II, A.D. 1143-1144

King of the Romans: CONRAD III, 1137-1152

ON 26th September 1143 Guido de Castello, a native of Tuscany, Cardinal-priest of St. Mark's, was elected Bishop of Rome. He belonged to the illustrious family of Citta di Castello, and is recorded to have been born in the Castle of St. Felicitas. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," vol. ii, ed. Duchesne, p. 385.) His election was the first which had taken place peaceably since the time of Alexander II.

The new Pope, who took the name of Celestine II, was a prelate of considerable culture, and had been a fellow student in Paris with Arnold of Brescia, who had been condemned to banishment from Italy by the Lateran Council of 1139. (*Vide* Innocent II.) Celestine sought to protect Arnold against his great opponent, Bernard of Clairvaux. Both Arnold and Bernard condemned the worldly power and luxury of the clergy, but the former also denied the authority of the Roman see, and was therefore condemned by Bernard as a heretic.

Soon after the elevation of Pope Celestine, ambassadors arrived from King Louis VII of France, begging that the interdict imposed on that country by Innocent II might be removed. Celestine received the ambassadors with much kindness, and replied to their request by solemnly blessing the kingdom of France, thus absolving the King and his subjects from the interdict.

Celestine, who is praised by contemporary writers for his humanity, died on 9th March 1144, after a pontificate of five months and a few days. He was buried in the Lateran church.

With this Pope commenced the famous prophecies attributed to St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1148. They are known as the "Sibylline Books of the Popes," and are possibly forgeries of the sixteenth century.

CLXV. LUCIUS II, A.D. 1144-1145

King of the Romans: CONRAD III, 1137-1152

ON 12th March 1144 Gerard Caccianemici, a native of Bologna, the son of Ursus, was elected Bishop of Rome. At the time of his elevation he was Cardinal-priest of the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and had held the office of librarian of the Roman see under Innocent II. Gerard was consecrated on 15th February and took the name of Lucius II. The rebellion of the Romans against the Papacy which had begun in the pontificate of Innocent II still continued. Pope Lucius sought the assistance of Roger, King of Sicily, but at an interview which took place at Ceprano, quarrelled with that prince. Roger then ravaged Campania with an army and seized Terracina and other places belonging to the Roman see. The Pope was forced to make terms of peace, Roger promising to defend him against the Romans.

The rebellious Romans now formed a new civic government, at the head of which they placed Jordan, a member of the Pierleoni family, with the title of Patricius. They also seized all the revenues of the Roman see, chose other officials in place of those appointed by the Pope, and issued edicts in the style of the ancient Senate. They then wrote to Conrad of Germany, inviting him to come to Rome and restore the city to its ancient dignity by making it the seat of Empire. Conrad, however, took no notice of their overtures, nor of those made by Pope Lucius, who sent an embassy to request his help against the Romans. The ambassadors of the Pope were, however, honourably received at the German court.

Lucius then made an alliance with the Roman nobility against the new government, and assembled an army to fight in defence of the rights of the Apostolic see. The papal troops attacked the Capitol, where the new Senate had assembled. They, however, met with a vigorous resistance, and during the attack the Pope was struck by a stone and seriously wounded. He was conveyed to the monastery of St. Gregory on the Coelian Hill, in order to be under the protection of the Frangipani family who ruled in that quarter. (*Vide* Gelasius II.) There, after a few days' suffering, he died on 15th February 1145. He was buried in the Lateran church.

Pope Lucius rebuilt the Roman church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, of which he had been cardinal. Finding that

the monastic discipline had declined in the monastery of Sta. Saba in Rome, founded by Gregory the Great, Lucius wrote to Peter, Abbot of Cluny, requesting him to send thirteen of his monks to re-people that monastery, and placed it at the same time under the jurisdiction of Cluny. On 15th May 1154 Pope Lucius issued a bull confirming that of Urban II which had subjected all the bishops of Brittany to the Archbishop of Tours. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 13.)

CLXVI. EUGENIUS III, A.D. 1145-1153

King of the Romans and of Germany: CONRAD III, 1137-1152; FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), 1152-1190 (cr. Emperor, 1155)

ON 15th February 1145 the cardinals assembled in the monastery of St. Caesarius in the Appian Way. Contrary to custom they chose, not one of their own number, but a Cistercian monk, Bernard Pignatelli, abbot of the monastery of SS. Vincent and Anastasius, which had been erected at the Tre Fontane, the accepted site of St. Paul's martyrdom.

Bernard, a native of Pisa, was a devout prelate of humble origin, and a disciple of Bernard the famous abbot of Clairvaux. Rome being still held by the new republican party (*vide* Lucius II), the pope-elect was obliged to leave the city almost immediately after his election. He retired to Farfa, twenty-five miles from Rome, where he was joined by the cardinals. There he received consecration on 18th February, and took the name of Eugenius III. Up to the time of his elevation he had been entirely ruled by Bernard of Clairvaux. He, however, proved himself to be of stronger character than had been anticipated, although the great abbot of Clairvaux remained the real ruler of the Church throughout this pontificate.

From Farfa, Eugenius went to Viterbo, where he remained eight months. During his sojourn there, news reached Italy of the capture of Edessa in Mesopotamia by the Turks. This news roused both Eugenius and Bernard of Clairvaux to preach a second crusade, of which Bernard was afterwards the chief promoter.

Meantime Pope Eugenius, showing unexpected energy, summoned the vassals of the church to meet him at Viterbo, and persuaded them to raise troops against the republican party in Rome. Several cities, including Tivoli, joined to

defend the Pope, and the Romans consented to make a treaty. They agreed to abolish the Patricius, and to govern by the authority of the Pope. He in turn promised to recognize the existence of the new commune under his investiture. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. iv, pt. 2, pp. 494-496.)

Pope Eugenius then returned in triumph to Rome, and took up his abode in the Lateran just before Christmas 1145. It was not long, however, before fresh trouble arose. The Romans, greatly incensed against the Tivolese for siding with the Pope, demanded that the city of Tivoli should be destroyed. This Eugenius refused to permit, and although he suffered the walls of Tivoli to be pulled down, this failed to satisfy the Romans. Another rebellion consequently arose against the Pope, and in January 1146 he was again obliged to leave the city. The Pope passed through Lombardy on his way to France, stopping at many places on the way.

Meantime, Arnold of Brescia, who had been banished from Italy by Pope Innocent II (*q.v.*), and who had retired to Zürich, now returned to Rome. He had previously visited the Pope at Viterbo, and obtained pardon and absolution, Eugenius imposing on him as a penance that he should visit the tombs of the apostles. Soon after his arrival in Rome, Arnold was won over to join the new democracy, the views of which specially appealed to him. His eloquence inflamed the Romans against the temporal power of the Pope, and he was rewarded with a leading position in the new government.

For three years Eugenius remained in France, during which time he visited many towns, holding numerous councils. In April 1047 he kept Easter with King Louis at Paris, and afterwards held a council there. At this council he deposed William, Archbishop of York, on the ground that he had been elected by King Stephen, and chose in his room a rival, the Cistercian monk Murdach, a favourite of Bernard of Clairvaux. King Stephen refused to recognize Murdach, and forbade the English bishops to attend a council held by the Pope at Rheims in March 1148. Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, however, escaped from England in an open boat, and attended the council in spite of the King's prohibition. This council was attended by many prelates from Germany, France, and Spain. Gilbert de la Porée, the aged Bishop of Poitiers, was accused of heresy, and his teaching was condemned. The assembled bishops engaged in a prolonged discussion, and four articles,

which were the direct converse of the doctrine taught by Gilbert, were finally drawn up by Bernard of Clairvaux and ratified by the synod. (*Vide* F. Bruys, "Histoire des Papes," vol. iii, pp. 7-10.)

Meantime the preaching of Bernard had induced Conrad of Germany and Louis of France, along with many nobles and princes, to join in a second crusade to rescue the Holy Places of Palestine from the Turks. In 1147 an immense army set out for the East, but this crusade proved a complete failure. At least 30,000 lives were sacrificed, many falling victims to disease and famine, and the monarchs returned with the merest remnants of their valiant armies.

In June 1148 Pope Eugenius returned to Italy and held a synod at Cremona, when he excommunicated Arnold of Brescia. Early in the following year the Pope went to Tusculum, and there had an interview with Louis of France, who was then passing through Italy on his return from the crusade.

Bernard of Clairvaux now wrote to the Romans urging them to re-establish the authority of the Pope in Rome, and pointing out that his banishment entailed a loss to themselves, since Rome was no longer the religious capital of the world. Meanwhile the Pope despatched to Rome troops provided by the Normans and by other vassals of the Church. The Romans appealed to Conrad of Germany, inviting him to come to Rome, to side with them against the Pope, and offering to bestow on him the imperial crown. But Conrad preferred to receive the imperial crown at the hands of the Pope, and troubles in Germany alone prevented him from proceeding to Italy for this purpose.

Towards the end of the year 1149 Eugenius again returned to Rome, but was able to maintain his position there only for a short time. After his withdrawal from the city he lived, for the next two years, in different places in the neighbourhood of Rome. At length in 1151 an alliance was made between Conrad and Pope Eugenius, the latter promising to abandon the cause of Roger of Sicily, and to bestow on Conrad the imperial crown. But in February 1152, while preparing to set out for Italy, Conrad died. He was succeeded by his nephew Frederick, the famous Barbarossa. In March the Pope concluded the friendly Treaty of Constance with Frederick, promising to bestow on him the imperial crown on condition that he would reduce the rebellious Romans to obedience and make no treaty with Roger of Sicily without the Pope's consent.

Eugenius was permitted to spend the last year of his life peacefully in Rome, for the power of the new republic had by this time declined. In the summer of 1153 he retired to Tivoli to avoid the summer heats, and died there on 8th July. He was buried in front of the high altar of St. Peter's, in Rome.

CLXVII. ANASTASIUS IV, A.D. 1153-1154

Emperor: FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), 1152-1190

ON 9th July 1153 Conrad of Suburra, the son of a Roman noble, was unanimously elected to the Roman see. At the time of his election he was Cardinal-bishop of Sta. Sabina, and had been prior of the monastery of St. Anastasius. His consecration took place on 12th July, when he took the name of Anastasius IV.

Anastasius was an aged man at the time of his elevation, and exercised a peaceful rule for only one year and five months. William, Archbishop of York, who had been deposed by Pope Eugenius III (*q.v.*), on hearing of the death of the latter, hastened to Rome, and was favourably received by Anastasius. As Bernard of Clairvaux (*vide* Eugenius III) had died soon after Pope Eugenius, Anastasius was free to reverse the decree concerning William, and reinstated him in his see of York after the death of his rival Murdach.

Anastasius despatched to Germany a legate named Gerard in order to settle a dispute with Frederick I concerning the archbishopric of Magdeburg. Gerard was favourably received, but is said to have afterwards caused offence by his arrogance. Broken-hearted by the failure of his mission, he died on his way back to Rome. The affair was, however, amicably settled in the following year, when Frederick sent Wickman, the Archbishop-elect of Magdeburg, with ambassadors to Rome. They were honourably received by Pope Anastasius, who consented to bestow the pallium on Wickman.

In 1154 Anastasius granted a bull to Raymond of Podio, master of the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem, in which he confirmed to that order all the privileges granted by his predecessors, and forbade bishops to inflict excommunications or interdicts on any of the churches belonging to that order. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 101.) It is recorded that Anastasius caused the ancient Pantheon to be restored and a

palace to be built near it. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 388.)

Pope Anastasius IV died on 3rd December 1154, and was buried in the Lateran. At his own request his body was placed in a porphyry sarcophagus of exquisite workmanship, which had formerly contained the body of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine I, and which Anastasius had caused to be brought from her mausoleum in the Via Labicana to the Lateran. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. iv, pt. 2, p. 524, *note*.)

CLXVIII. HADRIAN IV, A.D. 1154-1159

Emperor: FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), 1152-1190

THE Pope chosen to succeed Anastasius IV has the distinction of being the only Englishman who has ever filled the chair of St. Peter.

Nicholas Breakspear is said to have been a native of Langley in Hertfordshire, whose father, Robert, a man of obscure birth entered the monastery of St. Alban's as a monk, leaving his son apparently destitute. The boy came daily to the monastery to beg, but was at length driven away by the monks. He then set out for France, being determined to seek his fortune as a wandering scholar. After studying for some time in Paris, he journeyed south to the abbey of St. Rufus, then near Avignon. There his handsome face and figure, and his eagerness to acquire knowledge won him the favour of the monks. Later he became a canon regular of the abbey, and afterwards abbot. The severity of his rule as abbot caused the monks to rebel against him, and Nicholas was forced to journey to Rome to plead his cause. There his wisdom and eloquence attracted the notice of Pope Eugenius III, who on the occasion of a second appeal from the monks of St. Rufus bade them choose another abbot as Nicholas would no longer trouble them. Eugenius then retained Nicholas in Rome, and afterwards made him Cardinal-bishop of Albano.

In 1152 Pope Eugenius despatched Nicholas as legate on an important mission to Scandinavia. The purpose of this mission was to establish metropolitan sees in Norway and Sweden, and to liberate the churches in those countries from the control of the civil authority, thus bringing them into closer union with the Roman see. The tact and geniality with which he carried out his commission won for him the affection of the northern

people, and he was long afterwards remembered in Scandinavia as "the Good Cardinal." His success in this mission brought Nicholas into prominence, and is said to have been the cause of his election by the cardinals on the death of Pope Anastasius IV.

Nicholas was elected to the Roman see on 4th December 1154, and was consecrated on the following day, when he took the name of Hadrian IV. In Rome Hadrian had to contend against the new republican government, which had been established in the previous pontificate, and which was still under the leadership of Arnold of Brescia. (*Vide* Eugenius III.) One of the first acts of the new Pope was to command Arnold to leave the city, but the latter denied the Pope's right to banish him. The republican party then showed their hostility by plundering the palaces of the cardinals and nobles who remained faithful to the Pope, and the cardinal of Sta. Pudenziana was mortally wounded in the Via Sacra, while on his way to visit the Pope in the Vatican.

This last outrage brought matters to a climax, and the Pope at once placed Rome under an interdict. The churches were closed, no masses said, and no sacraments administered except baptism and communion to the dying. The deprivation of all the consolations of religion at Easter, and the loss to the city incurred by the absence of the usual crowd of pilgrims soon produced its effect on the Romans, and on the Wednesday before Easter (1155) they rose in rebellion against the Senate. The Senate were obliged to give way, and consented to banish Arnold from Rome. Pope Hadrian was then installed in the Lateran, amid great rejoicing, and celebrated the festival of Easter with the usual ceremonies. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 389.)

At the time of the elevation of Hadrian to the pontifical throne, Frederick Barbarossa was in Italy, having come thither for the purpose of receiving the Lombard and imperial crowns, and also of proceeding against William of Sicily, who had been excommunicated by the Pope for seizing papal territory.

Hearing that Frederick was advancing on Rome with an army, Pope Hadrian withdrew from the city, and sent legates to meet the King in order to discover if his intentions were hostile. Frederick assured the legates of his friendly intentions, and also delivered up to them Arnold of Brescia, who, after his banishment from Rome, had fallen into the hands of the King. Arnold was conveyed to Rome, and was soon afterwards executed by the Pope's orders.

It was arranged that an interview should take place between Frederick and the Pope, and the latter accordingly proceeded to Nepi. Hadrian waited at the royal tent for the King to come forth and perform the customary service of holding his stirrup while he alighted from his horse. But he waited in vain, for Frederick refused to perform this act of homage. When the King did present himself Hadrian in turn refused to grant him the kiss of peace. The dispute lasted all day, till at length Frederick was persuaded by his counsellors to give way. Two days later the camp was moved farther on, and the King dismounting held the stirrup of Hadrian and assisted him to alight, receiving in return the kiss of peace. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 392.)

On the way to Rome Frederick was met by envoys from the Roman senators, who addressed him in a bombastic speech, in which they attempted to represent to him that it was condescension for them, the senators of ancient Rome to bestow the imperial crown on a Transalpine stranger. They demanded that he should take an oath to defend the republic, observe the laws confirmed by his ancestors, and pay 5,000 pounds of gold to the officials who should proclaim him Emperor.

Frederick replied with considerable haughtiness, assuring them that he had heard much of the wisdom of the Romans, and was surprised to find them so deficient in that virtue. He reminded them that the Roman nobility were no longer to be found in Rome, but in Germany, whither they had passed with the transference of the Empire. Not as a suppliant for the imperial crown did he come to them, but as the descendant and rightful heir of Charles and Otto. As for their demand that he should defend the city, was it not to his own interest to defend the capital of his Empire? They had suggested that he should pay money. Was he a prisoner forced to pay a ransom? Their attitude resembled a transaction between a sutler and a travelling huckster! He was accustomed to give magnificently, but to those who demanded what was unjust he would justly refuse all. (*Vide* Otto of Freisingen, "Gesta Friderici," lib. ii, cap. 21; *cf.* "Pope Adrian IV," by J. Duncan Mackie, B.A., Lothian Prize Essay, Oxford, 1907.)

On the departure of the crestfallen envoys, Pope Hadrian advised Frederick to send troops immediately to secure St. Peter's and the Leonine City, lest these places should be seized by the Romans. Frederick accordingly sent a thousand

men, who early on the morning of 18th June 1155 occupied the Leonine without opposition.

On the same day the King advanced to Rome, and entering by the Porta S. Peregrini or Aurea found Hadrian, who had preceded him, waiting on the steps of St. Peter's. After the celebration of mass Hadrian solemnly crowned Frederick Emperor. As the crown was placed on his head, the shouts of the Germans resounded like thunder around the church.

After the coronation the Emperor returned to his camp, while Pope Hadrian remained in the Vatican. Early in the afternoon the Romans, who had not been admitted to the coronation, even as spectators, suddenly rose in arms. A sanguinary combat, which lasted until night-fall, ensued. Nearly a thousand Romans were slain, and at least three hundred taken prisoners. Although the German loss was very insignificant, Frederick seems to have been disinclined to continue the strife, and withdrew with his troops from Rome, taking the Pope with him. The festival of SS. Peter and Paul (29th June) was celebrated by the Pope and the Emperor at Lucina, and Hadrian absolved the German troops from the guilt of the blood they had shed in Rome. Malaria now appeared among the troops, and prevented the Emperor from carrying out his project of proceeding against William of Sicily. He accordingly returned to Germany in September 1155, and Hadrian was left without an ally.

Not venturing to return to Rome, Hadrian went in the month of October to Apulia, where he was welcomed by the barons, whose estates had been seized by William of Sicily. The Greeks now joined the Pope and the barons of Apulia against William, and the latter seems to have been at first inclined to make peace. The Pope, however, refused to come to terms, and William crossing to the mainland with an army won a complete victory over the allies, and wrested from them the whole of Calabria and Apulia. At Benevento, in June 1156, a treaty of peace was made between William and Pope Hadrian. By this treaty the Pope released William from the sentence of excommunication, and invested him with Sicily, Apulia and Capua as papal fiefs. As the Emperor claimed that these territories belonged to him, he looked on this investiture of William as a breach of faith on the part of the Pope.

With the support of William of Sicily and the Normans, Pope Hadrian was at length able to return to Rome in November 1156, and took up his residence in the Lateran.

During the next year he was active in causing many Roman churches to be repaired, and also rebuilt and fortified several towns which had fallen into ruins. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 396.)

In October 1157 the Emperor Frederick held a diet at Besançon, at which were present representatives from Rome, Apulia, Tuscany, Venice, France, England and Spain. Legates from the Pope appeared at this diet to complain that a robbery from Eskill, the aged Archbishop of Lund, by Burgundian knights had remained unpunished by the Emperor. In a letter reproving Frederick for this omission, Pope Hadrian referred to the "Beneficia," which he had bestowed on him. The word "Beneficia" was interpreted by the Emperor and the German nobles to mean that Frederick held the Empire as a fief from the Pope, and consequently it aroused the greatest indignation. The legates with difficulty escaped death at the hands of the wrathful Germans.

Frederick now issued an imperial manifesto against the pretensions of the Pope, forbade all the German clergy to visit Rome, and threatened to make a descent into Italy with a hostile army. Pope Hadrian then hastily despatched another legation to Germany, with authority to explain away the offensive term. Hadrian as the legates assured the Emperor had not intended to use the term "Beneficium" in the sense of a fief, but in the sense of a *bonum factum*, or good deed. This explanation appears to have appeased the wrath of Frederick, for a temporary reconciliation took place.

In the summer of 1158 the Emperor Frederick again crossed the Alps with a large army for the purpose of reducing certain Italian towns which had formed a league of independence against him. After subduing Milan and Brescia, the Emperor declared his right to tax the clergy like the rest of his subjects, for their temporal possessions. This led to a renewal of his quarrel with the Pope, and the strife between them was further aggravated by the Pope's refusal to confirm the election of a nominee of the Emperor to the Archbishopric of Ravenna. An epistolary warfare waged between Frederick and Hadrian, and the old dispute concerning lay investiture was revived. (*Vide* Calixtus II.) Letters from the Pope to Milan and other States, urging them to revolt are said to have fallen into the hands of the Emperor, and the latter retaliated by making an alliance with the Romans against the Pope.

Hadrian now sought aid from the Eastern Emperor against

Frederick, and also made an alliance with Milan, Brescia and Piacenza, these towns promising to make no alliance with the Emperor without the Pope's consent. The Pope on his side undertook to excommunicate the Emperor within forty days. But before that time had elapsed Hadrian fell ill at Anagni and there died on 1st September 1159. His body was conveyed to Rome, and was buried in St. Peter's on 4th September.

The copy exists of a bull which is said to have been issued by Pope Hadrian IV in 1154, in which he grants Ireland to King Henry II. The majority of modern authorities incline to the belief that this particular bull is a forgery, although they accept the statement made by John of Salisbury in his "Metalogicus," namely, that Hadrian granted to Henry II Ireland to hold by hereditary right, "for by ancient right according to the Donation of Constantine all islands are the property of the Roman Church." Mr. J. Duncan Mackie in an able essay on Pope Hadrian IV, holds with several other writers that the grant of Ireland was probably made in 1155, when Henry first planned an expedition to that island. Urgency of home affairs prevented Henry from making the expedition at that time, and he consequently deferred accepting the conditions offered by the Pope. When the actual invasion took place in 1172, Henry published no bull sanctioning his attack upon Ireland, for the simple reason that having refused the Pope's terms seventeen years earlier, he had no bull to produce. (*Vide ibid.*, pp. 109-118.)

Of Pope Hadrian IV, the English Pope, the same writer says: "As a man he was kindly tolerant and straightforward. His high position did not rob him of the simple charm which had marked his early years; it rendered him not prouder but humbler, since he was made to realize that he was in the hands of a higher power. 'Oculi mei semper ad dominum' was the motto of Hadrian IV. But a gentle and honest disposition is not unfrequently the strongest, and the truth of this statement is proved by the case of the English Pope. For though he felt himself unable save by God's aid to bear the burden thrust upon him, he never shirked his duty. Against the host of Barbarossa, against the conquering King of Sicily, he showed himself fearless and resolute. In his hands the Papacy abated not a whit of the claims which Hildebrand had urged, and that although his opponent was none other than the great Frederick himself."

CLXIX. ALLXANDER III, A.D. 1159-1181

(VICTOR IV, 1159-1164; PASCAL III, 1164-1168; CALIXTUS, III, 1168-1178; INNOCENT III, 1179-1180, ANTIPOPES)

Emperor: FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), 1152-1190

ON 7th September 1159 Roland Bandinelli, Cardinal of St. Mark's and Chancellor of the Apostolic see, was chosen pope by a majority of the cardinals. Roland was a native of Siena, the son of Rainucius. While professor of canon law at the university at Bologna, he had compiled a commentary on the Decretum of Gratian, popularly known as "Summa Magistri Rolandi."

In 1150 he had been made Cardinal-deacon of SS. Cosmas and Damian by Pope Eugenius III, and afterwards Cardinal-priest of St. Mark's. In 1153 he was made papal chancellor, and soon distinguished himself as the leader of a party among the cardinals strongly opposed to Frederick Barbarossa. Roland was one of the papal legates sent by Hadrian IV (*q.v.*) to the Diet at Besançon (1157), and there incurred the severe displeasure of the Emperor and the German nobles by supporting the Pope's use of the offensive term, "Beneficium." So intense was the animosity which he had aroused on that occasion that his election to the papal chair caused an immediate schism in the Church. On the very day of his election a minority of the cardinals, supported by the imperial party in Rome, elected a rival pope, in the person of Octavian, Cardinal of St. Cecilia, who belonged to the family of the Crescentii, counts of Monticelli. Such scenes of violence and tumult ensued in the city that neither of the popes dared to remain there long enough to receive consecration. Roland, who had taken the name of Alexander III, fled with his cardinals and chief supporters to Ninfa, on the edge of the Pontine marshes, where he was consecrated on 20th September 1159. Octavian, proceeding to Farfa, was there consecrated by the Bishop of Tusculum on 4th October, and took the name of Victor IV.

The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was then in northern Italy engaged in subduing the Lombard towns which had asserted their independence. (*Vide* Hadrian IV.) In February 1160 Frederick summoned a council to meet at Pavia to examine the claims of the rival popes, who were both cited to

attend. As there was, however, no doubt to which of the two the Emperor would give his support, Alexander refused to appear, on the plea that such a summons was uncanonical. The result was that Victor, who was present, was recognized by this council as the true Pope, and he immediately pronounced a sentence of deposition and excommunication against Alexander. Alexander retaliated by summoning a council at Anagni in the following March, when he solemnly excommunicated both the antipope and the Emperor Frederick. Many of the princes of Europe, however, fearing the increasing power of the Emperor Frederick, and the disturbances caused by the rival parties, supported Alexander against him, and the latter was soon recognized by France, Spain, and England. Later the Eastern Emperor and the King of Sicily also acknowledged Alexander as lawful pope.

Meantime, however, Victor IV was recognized in all parts of Italy where the imperial authority prevailed, and also in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Sweden, and Norway. While the antipope sojourned in the camp of the Emperor in northern Italy, Alexander III ventured to return to Rome in the summer of 1160. The success of the Emperor in Lombardy strengthened the power of the imperial party, and Alexander was unable to retain his position in the city for more than a fortnight. After leaving Rome he determined to withdraw to France, and sailed from the Cape of Circe in a Sicilian vessel about Christmas 1161. In France Alexander received an honourable welcome, and remained there for three years, during which he was treated with the deepest respect and reverence. In February 1162 he was met near Courcy by the Kings of France and England, who walked on either side of him holding the bridle of his horse as they escorted him to the town. (*Cf.* "Ex Actis Pontificatus Alexandri Papae III apud Muratorium," vol. iii, pt. i, p. 451.)

After subduing Milan and other towns in northern Italy Frederick returned to Germany, taking the antipope Victor with him. But the latter seems to have received little support in Germany, and Frederick soon sent him back to Rome. There he ruled until his death, which took place on 20th April 1164. On the death of Victor another antipope was at once elected by Rainald, Archbishop-elect of Cologne and Chancellor of the Empire. His choice fell on Guido of Crema, who took the name of Pascal III.

During Pope Alexander's residence in France the famous

quarrel began between Henry II of England and Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. Although Pope Alexander took the side of Becket throughout, he was unwilling to break altogether with Henry II, who had acknowledged him as lawful pope, and from whom he received supplies of money.

Soon after Becket's flight to France he succeeded in obtaining from Alexander III a formal condemnation of the Constitutions of Clarendon. After the Pope's return to Italy he granted Becket, in 1166, permission to publish what censures he thought fit. Becket availed himself of this permission to the extent of excommunicating Henry's chief advisers, and later two of the bishops. The Pope had, however, refused to support him in excommunicating Henry, although Becket did not scruple boldly to rebuke Alexander for what he considered his compromising policy. After the murder of the Archbishop it was Pope Alexander who imposed on Henry his severe act of public penance.

A reaction in favour of Pope Alexander opened the way for his return to Rome, and in November 1165 he once more took up his residence in the Lateran Palace. His position was, however, insecure, and was further weakened by the death in 1166 of his most powerful ally, William of Sicily, who left as his successor a son, William II, still in his minority.

In November 1166 the Emperor Frederick returned with an army to Italy, with the intention of driving the Greeks from Ancona, and establishing the antipope Pascal III in Rome. Tusculum and other small towns hastened to make an alliance with the imperialists on hearing of Frederick's approach. The Romans, out of revenge, determined to destroy Tusculum, but were defeated in the attempt by German troops, under the leadership of Rainald, Archbishop of Cologne. Pope Alexander, with the assistance of troops from Sicily, defended the Vatican, which was besieged for eight days by the Emperor's troops. Then a fire broke out in some of the buildings, and the garrison capitulated. The antipope Pascal then took possession of the church, and on 1st August 1167 crowned Beatrice, the wife of Frederick, Empress, conferring at the same time on the Emperor the Patrician title.

Pope Alexander at first refused to leave Rome, but on the outbreak of a popular tumult, was forced to flee to Gaeta, disguised as a pilgrim. The Emperor then made a treaty of peace with the Roman senate, although the more powerful nobles,

including the Frangipani and the Pierleoni, refused to join him. Meantime a terrible pestilence broke out in Rome, and in a few days swept away the flower of the German army. Frederick hastily retreated to Germany with the remnants of his magnificent army, and, to add to his misfortunes at this time, the Lombard towns, with Venice and her dependencies, again revolted, and threw off the imperial yoke.

The Emperor's retreat caused the power of the antipope Pascal to decline, and when his death occurred in the following autumn there seemed to be some hope that the schism might be healed. A few obstinate prelates, however, insisted on electing a successor in the person of John, formerly Abbot of Strumi and now Bishop of Tusculum, who took the name of Calixtus III.

Meantime the power of Pope Alexander, who was recognized as head of the League made by the Lombard cities, continued to increase. The new city of Alessandria, founded at this time as the headquarters of the League, was named after the Pope. In 1170 Alexander, who was then at Veroli, received embassies both from Frederick Barbarossa and from the Greek Emperor, who now realized the importance of being on friendly terms with him. From Veroli the Pope went to Tusculum, where he remained for two years, and while there received news of the murder of Thomas Becket. The Romans agreed to receive the Pope in the city, provided he gave permission for part at least of the walls of Tusculum, which belonged to the Roman see, to be destroyed. To this he consented, but the Romans destroyed the entire fortifications of Tusculum. On account of this breach of faith Alexander refused to return to Rome, and in 1173 withdrew to Segni. There on 4th February 1173 he canonized Becket as St. Thomas of Canterbury.

At length, in 1174, the Emperor Frederick returned to Italy, and engaged in another campaign against the Lombard cities. These cities, however, maintained a vigorous resistance, and on 29th May 1176, the Emperor suffered an overwhelming defeat at the battle of Legnano. This battle secured freedom for the Lombard cities, and forced Frederick to recognize Alexander III as the lawful pope.

In March 1177 the Pope went to Venice, where it was agreed to hold a general congress to arrange the terms of the treaty. This congress assembled in July of the same year, and on 1st August peace was concluded by a formal treaty between the Pope, Frederick, the Greek Emperor, the Lombard cities,

and William of Sicily. Frederick refused, however, to agree to all that was required of him, and it was found necessary to conclude a truce only, of six years with Lombardy and of fifteen years with the King of Sicily. Frederick promised to abandon the cause of the antipope Calixtus, and to recognize Alexander as lawful pope. (For the full terms of this treaty *vide* Henderson's "Hist. Documents," ed. Bohn, p. 425.)

To ratify this treaty a meeting took place between the Pope and the Emperor in the church of St. Mark in Venice, when the Emperor, who was received by the Pope on the steps of the church, prostrated himself to the ground and kissed the feet of the pontiff. Frederick afterwards performed the customary act of homage of holding the Pope's stirrup while he mounted his horse.

Early in the following year the Pope was invited to return to Rome, and on 12th March entered the city amid demonstrations of the greatest joy, escorted by German troops. The antipope, Calixtus III, retired to Viterbo, where he was supported by the barons of Tuscany and of the Sabina. At length, however, he was induced to submit to Alexander, who granted him a full pardon, and made him governor of the city of Benevento.

In March 1179 Pope Alexander presided at the Eleventh Œcumenical Council of the Church assembled in the Lateran. At this council, which was attended by more than three hundred bishops, Alexander was again formally recognized as lawful pope. An important decree was passed which is still in force at the present time, ordering that a majority of two-thirds of the cardinals should henceforth be necessary to decide papal elections. (*Vide* Henderson's "Hist. Documents," ed. Bohn, p. 337.)

In Rome, however, Pope Alexander was still harassed by many enemies, and in 1179 a new German antipope, Lando of Sezza, who took the name of Innocent III, was set up. But he was soon betrayed for money and fell into the hands of Pope Alexander, who sent him to the monastery of La Cava in January 1180. Meantime, however, Pope Alexander had withdrawn to Tusculum and never returned to Rome.

In 1181 Alexander empowered Roger, Archbishop of York, to excommunicate William the Lion of Scotland, who had refused to submit to the Pope with regard to the election of a certain John surnamed Scotus, to the see of St. Andrews. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 439.)

Pope Alexander III died at Civita Castellana on 30th August 1181. His body was conveyed to Rome and was buried in the Lateran.

CLXX. LUCIUS III, A.D. 1181-1185

Emperor: FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), 1152-1190

ON 1st September 1181 Ubaldo Allucingoli, a native of Lucca, was chosen by the College of Cardinals to succeed Alexander III as Bishop of Rome. The chosen prelate was well advanced in years at the time of his elevation, and had as early as 1141 been created Cardinal-priest of St. Praxedes by Pope Innocent II, during whose pontificate he was also employed as legate to France. Under Eugenius III he had acted as papal legate to Sicily, and by Hadrian IV had been made Cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri, which position he occupied at the time of his elevation. Ubaldo, who took the name of Lucius III, was consecrated at Velletri on 5th September 1181, but it was not until the month of November that he ventured to establish himself in Rome. Soon a quarrel broke out between him and the Romans, due, it is said, to his having refused to continue certain privileges granted by his predecessors. Lucius was consequently obliged to leave Rome in March 1182, and retired to Velletri. There he received an embassy from William the Lion, King of Scotland, requesting that he might be released from the excommunication pronounced against him by order of Alexander III (*q.v.*). Lucius agreed to absolve the King, and sent him as a mark of his favour the gift of a golden rose. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 438.) The Pope also sent a legate to Scotland to investigate the dispute concerning the see of St. Andrews. (*Vide*, p. 291.) The two candidates were summoned to appear before the Pope, who was then at Velletri, and they journeyed to Italy for this purpose. The dispute was finally settled by the Pope's granting the see of St. Andrews to Hugh, the royal nominee, and translating John the Scot to the see of Dunkeld.

In 1183 Pope Lucius went to Segni, where, on 5th September, he canonized Bruno, formerly bishop of that see. At the Pope's request the Emperor Frederick sent Christian, Archbishop of Mainz, from Tuscany with an army to defend the city of Tusculum against the Romans. Christian, who was a brave warrior, soon brought the Romans to submission, but at

the moment of his success died suddenly of fever at Tusculum. One account states that he and many of his soldiers died through drinking of a spring which the Romans had poisoned. After his death the Romans continued to harass the Pope, who had meanwhile returned to Rome. The clergy were treated with cruelty and every form of insult. On one occasion a number of priests were seized and blinded, all but one, who was ordered to lead the sad procession to the Pope. Lucius was again forced to leave Rome. He fled first to Anagni, and from thence to Lombardy to seek the protection of the Emperor Frederick, who was then in that part of Italy.

A council, at which the Emperor was present in person, was held by the Pope at Verona in July 1184. The old question of the Pope's right to the territories of Matilda of Tuscany (*vide* Gregory VII) was debated, the Emperor indignantly repudiating the papal claims, but no satisfactory agreement was made. Lucius anathematized the rebellious Romans, and with them certain heretical sects including the Arnoldists, the Cathari, the Waldenses, etc. The Emperor desired Pope Lucius to bestow on Henry, his son, the imperial crown, but the Pope refused to do so unless Frederick first abdicated, on the ground that there could not be two emperors. A dispute also arose between Frederick and the Pope concerning the election of a new archbishop to the see of Trèves, and Lucius refused to comply with the Emperor's request that certain prelates, who had been ordained by antipopes during the previous pontificate, should be allowed their clerical rank.

While engaged in promoting a third crusade against the Saracens Pope Lucius III died at Verona on 25th November 1185. His remains were placed in a beautiful marble sepulchre before the high altar in the cathedral of Verona. During the restorations effected in the cathedral in the sixteenth century, his tomb was destroyed.

The following epitaph is said to have been engraven on the original tomb, but Duchesne inclines to the belief that it is the production of some scholar of the Renaissance period (*vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 451, *note*):

> Lucie, Luca tibi dedit ortum, pontificatum
> Ostia, papatum Roma, Verona mori.
> Immo Verona dedit verum tibi vivere, Roma
> Exilium, curas Ostia, Luca mori.

CLXXI. URBAN III, A.D. 1185-1187

Emperor: FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), 1152-1190

HUMBERT, or Hubert Crivelli, a native of Milan, the son of John, was chosen pope on the very day of the death of his predecessor, 25th November 1185.

Humbert had been created Cardinal-priest of St. Lorenzo in Damaso by Alexander III, and at the time of his elevation to the papal chair was Archbishop of Milan. The new Pope, who took the name of Urban III, was a prelate of resolute determination, prepared to uphold at all costs the rights of the Apostolic see against the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Consequently the friction which had existed between the Empire and the papacy during the previous pontificate soon increased to an open quarrel. Among the many causes of dispute was the Emperor's continued refusal to recognize the Pope's claim to the territories of the Countess Matilda of Tuscany. Frederick also seized the territories attached to vacant bishoprics, and dissolved several nunneries without the papal sanction, on the plea that the nuns were leading irregular lives. The Pope refused to sanction the election of Rudolf, the imperial nominee, to the Archbishopric of Trèves, and insisted on consecrating Fulmar, a prelate of his own choice, whom he created Cardinal-legate for the greater part of Germany.

On 27th January 1186 the Emperor's son, Henry, married Constance, the aunt of William II, the reigning King of Sicily. This marriage was a great blow to the papal power, for as William II had no children Constance was the next heir to the kingdom of Sicily. This meant that the popes could no longer look to Sicily for protection against the Emperor.

As Pope Urban had refused to crown Henry Emperor during his father's lifetime, or even to bestow on him the iron crown of Lombardy (this being Urban's function as Archbishop of Milan), Frederick caused his son to be crowned King of Lombardy on the very day of his marriage with Constance by the Archbishop of Aquileia.

Towards the Pope Henry adopted an attitude even more unbending than that of his father, and ruled his dominions with the utmost harshness and cruelty. Clerics who fell into his power were treated with insult and ignominy. After Frederick's return to Germany he ordered all communications to cease

between German ecclesiastics, and the papal court. He also summoned a Diet at Gelnhausen, and made a formal complaint concerning the Pope's conduct to the assembled bishops and nobles. The German bishops wrote to Pope Urban, who had threatened to excommunicate Frederick, advising him to try to bring about a reconciliation, and not to proceed to extremities. They also complained of the exorbitant sums and quantity of provisions extorted by papal legates visiting Germany. Urban remained unmoved by these letters, and would have proceeded to excommunicate Frederick, but the people of Verona refused to permit the sentence to be pronounced in their city, and he was compelled to postpone it.

Pope Urban confirmed the grant of Ireland, made by Hadrian IV (*q.v.*) to Henry II, and approved of his son John's coronation as king of that island. To John Urban sent a crown of peacock's feathers in token of his favour. Pope Urban III set out for Venice in order to persuade the Venetians to join in sending a fleet to the East against the Saracens, but on his way he died at Ferrara on 20th October 1187. During his pontificate of nearly two years this Pope had not succeeded in establishing himself in Rome.

According to the "Liber Pontificalis" Pope Urban III died of grief at Ferrara on receiving the news that Jerusalem had been taken by Saladin, the Saracen leader. It seems, however, to be doubtful whether the news of the fall of Jerusalem could have reached him before his death, since the city was only taken on 2nd October. Pope Urban III was buried in the cathedral of Ferrara, where his tomb is still to be seen, though not the original monument.

CLXXII. GREGORY VIII, A.D. 1187

Emperor: FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), 1152-1190

ON the death of Urban III, the cardinals who had accompanied him to Ferrara at once proceeded to a new election, and on 21st October, chose as pope, Albert de Mora, a native of Benevento.

Albert is said to have been a Cistercian monk, and was an aged man at the time of his elevation. By Pope Hadrian IV he had been made Cardinal-priest of St. Lorenzo in Lucina, and by Alexander III Chancellor of the Roman see. He was

one of the legates chosen by Pope Alexander III to visit England in order to investigate the murder of Becket. Albert was consecrated at Ferrara on 25th October 1187, and took the name of Gregory VIII. Being an amiable and peace-loving prelate he showed himself disposed to make peace with the Emperor, and promised not to oppose the claims of Henry VI to Sicily. The increasing power of the Emperor, who was now at peace with his enemies, would have made it dangerous at this time for the Pope to continue the quarrel.

Pope Gregory's most earnest desire was to promote a third Crusade. Immediately after his elevation he wrote letters to the German bishops, urging them to rouse the princes of Germany to arm themselves in defence of their Christian brethren in the East. He also addressed a letter to all the faithful in Christ, containing a similar exhortation, and commanded a fast of five years to appease the wrath of God. All were to abstain from meat on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, and in addition to these days the Pope and his cardinals were to practise abstinence on Mondays. The cardinals also engaged to take the cross themselves, and to go to the Holy Land as mendicant pilgrims.

In order to reconcile the republics of Genoa and Pisa, and to induce them to unite in sending a fleet against the Saracens, the aged Pope set out for Pisa, where he was received with every mark of honour and esteem. But there he fell ill, and died on 17th December 1187. He was buried in the cathedral of Pisa to the right of the principal entrance. His tomb was destroyed in the fire of 1600. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 451, *note.*)

CLXXIII. CLEMENT III, A.D. 1187-1191

Emperor: FREDERICK I (BARBAROSSA), 1152-1190

ON the third day after the death of Gregory VIII, the cardinals who had accompanied him to Ferrara chose as pope Paolo Scolari, Cardinal-bishop of Palestrina, a native of Rome, the son of John. He was consecrated at Ferrara on 20th December 1187, and took the name of Clement III.

Clement was the first Roman to be elected pope since the days of Innocent II, and as such was ambitious to re-establish the papal rule in Rome. Successful negotiations were soon

completed between him and the Roman Senate, and in February 1188, he made his entry into the city amid scenes of boundless enthusiasm and rejoicing. A formal treaty of peace was drawn up between the Pope and the Roman Senate, and was signed on 31st May 1188. By this treaty the Pope was recognized as overlord of Rome, and invested the Senate, the members of which were obliged to take an oath of fidelity to him. The Pope again acquired the right of coining money, a third part of which fell to the Senate. All revenues which had formerly been papal were restored to the Pope. The Pope indemnified the Romans for their losses in the war, undertook to give the senators, judges and other officials their customary presents of money, and promised a grant of one hundred pounds annually for the restoration of the city walls. As the Roman militia was to be paid by the Pope it was agreed that he might summon it to the defence of the patrimony. Clement agreed to surrender to the Romans the papal towns of Tusculum and Tivoli, which had formerly supported the Popes. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. iv, pt. 2, pp. 617-619.) In the following year, Clement also obtained from Henry of Germany the restitution of all property belonging to the State of the Church, which had been seized during the pontificate of Lucius III.

Pope Clement was no sooner established in Rome than he began to labour with the most earnest zeal to promote a third Crusade. Before leaving Pisa he had persuaded a large number of the inhabitants from all ranks to take the cross, and had also brought about a reconciliation between Pisa and Genoa. The two republics now united to equip a fleet of fifty ships of war, which sailed in September to the relief of the Christians in the East.

Papal legates were sent by Clement to preach the Crusade throughout Europe, and marvellous success attended their efforts. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa set out in person with an army of 150,000 fighting men, and his example was followed by Philip Augustus, King of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion of England. The great Barbarossa was destined never to return, for he was drowned on 10th June 1190, while crossing a small river in Syria.

In March 1188 Pope Clement issued a bull granting to William, King of Scotland, that the Scottish Church should be free from all jurisdiction but that of Rome; that no one who was not of Scottish birth should exercise legatine power in

Scotland without permission from the Pope; and that he alone might publish excommunication or interdict against the kingdom of Scotland. (*Vide* Jaffé, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 541.) Pope Clement caused a cloister to be built at St. Laurence without-the-Walls, and made certain additions to the Lateran Palace, where also he ordered a well to be made in front of the brazen horse. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 451.) Pope Clement III died in Rome in March 1191, and was buried in the Lateran Church in the nave before the canons' choir.

CLXXIV. CELESTINE III, A.D. 1191-1198

Emperor: HENRY VI, 1190-1197

ON 30th March 1191, the cardinals assembled in Rome elected as pope Giacinto, Cardinal-deacon of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin. The chosen prelate, who took the name of Celestine III, was the son of Pietro Bobone, a Roman of the Orsini family, and was eighty-five years of age at the time of his elevation.

Henry VI, the son of Frederick Barbarossa, was then on his way to Rome to receive the imperial crown. It was his intention after the coronation to proceed to Sicily to which he laid claim through his wife Constance, William II of Sicily, having died without heirs. (*Vide ante*, p. 294.) The Sicilians had, however, chosen as their king Tancred, Count of Lecce, an illegitimate grandson of Roger, King of Sicily. The cause of Tancred had been espoused by Pope Clement III, on the condition that he was recognized as overlord of Sicily, which was to be held by Tancred as a papal fief.

Pope Celestine now feared that the policy of his predecessor with regard to Sicily would cause a quarrel between the Roman see and the emperor-elect. On his way to Rome Henry VI placed an imperial garrison in Tusculum, which Pope Clement III (*q.v.*) had promised to deliver to the Romans. As the Romans, however, threatened to oppose his coronation, unless Tusculum were delivered up to them, Henry, with the Pope's consent, withdrew his troops, and Tusculum was razed to the ground.

In order to delay the imperial coronation Celestine is said to have delayed his own consecration for a fortnight. But on hearing that Henry was close to the gates of Rome with a large

army, the Pope received consecration on Easter Eve 1191. On the following day (Easter Sunday, 15th April), he crowned Henry and his wife Constance, Emperor and Empress in St. Peter's.

After his coronation the Emperor Henry proceeded to the south of Italy, where he obtained some success, but was later defeated by Tancred. Henry then retreated to Germany, leaving his wife Constance in Salerno. The latter soon fell a prisoner into the hands of Tancred, who, however, treated her with the greatest courtesy, and at the request of Pope Celestine she was permitted to return to Germany loaded with gifts.

In 1192 King Richard of England, while returning from the Crusade, fell into the hands of Leopold, Duke of Austria, and was by him handed over as a prisoner to the Emperor Henry VI. The Archbishop of Rouen and Eleanor, the Queen mother, both wrote letters to the Pope, urgently entreating him to use his influence for the release of Richard, even to the extent of excommunicating Henry. Pope Celestine, however, took no steps in the matter until after Richard's release by ransom. Celestine then excommunicated the Duke of Austria, and all who had been concerned in Richard's imprisonment.

After the death of Tancred in 1194, Henry VI again proceeded to Sicily. He now met with little or no opposition, and marched to Palermo, where he was acknowledged King of Sicily at Christmas 1194. Shortly afterwards he ordered a cruel massacre of all the Sicilian nobility, and superior clergy. All the descendants of the Norman kings of Sicily were either executed or mutilated along with the bishops. For this atrocious deed the Pope pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against Henry, who, however, scoffed at the papal ban, and returned in triumph to Germany.

In 1197 the Emperor Henry VI returned to southern Italy in order to repress a revolt against his authority. So cruel was his treatment of his subjects that the Empress is said to have interposed, though without effect, on their behalf. Pope Celestine III seems to have been powerless to interfere, and Rome was at this time suffering from a famine which Henry refused to relieve.

While in Sicily Henry was seized with fever, and died at Messina on 28th September 1187, at the age of thirty-two. Pope Celestine refused to allow the body of Henry to receive Christian burial, until he had first ascertained that the money extorted for Richard's ransom was to be restored by Henry's

successor. Celestine then released the dead Emperor from excommunication, and the body was buried in great state at Palermo.

Pope Celestine III died in Rome on 8th January 1198. He was buried in the Lateran church, at the end of the north aisle near the Chapel of Sta. Maria di Riposo.

CLXXV. INNOCENT III, 1198-1216

Emperors: PHILIP of Suabia, 1198-1208; OTTO IV, 1208-1212; FREDERICK II, 1212-1250

WHEN Cardinal Lothair Conti was called in 1198, at the early age of thirty-seven, to occupy the supreme position in Christendom, the progress of events had already prepared the way for that culmination of world-wide power which under him the papal monarchy was to attain. During the century, which had elapsed since the death of the great Hildebrand (Gregory VII), precedents had established the rights of popes to dethrone and excommunicate rulers, to call them to account for immorality or for offences against the church, to oblige princes to swear fealty for their crowns, to confiscate lands and kingdoms, and to bestow or withhold at will the imperial crown. Moreover, during the thirteenth century the clergy of the Church had become better educated and purer in morals, the wealth of the Church had increased, the monastic orders had flourished, and the crusades had served to increase the prestige of the popes.

The young Pope, who took the name of Innocent III, was the son of Count Trasimund of Segni, and of Claricia, a Roman lady of the family of Scotti. He had been educated at Rome, Paris and Bologna, and was one of the most distinguished jurists of his time. At the age of twenty-nine Lothair had been created Cardinal-deacon of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, by his uncle, Pope Clement III. He was still the youngest of the cardinals at the time of his election, but had attracted public attention by his marked ability, and severely abstemious life, and also as the author of an eloquent treatise on "The Contempt of the World, and the misery of the Human Condition." He was consecrated on 22nd February 1198, in St. Peter's, and took the name of Innocent III.

One of the first acts of Innocent was to reduce the expenditure of the papal household, and to bring order into the papal revenues, which had been squandered during the pontificate of

his aged predecessor. He also took in hand the management of municipal affairs, and after deposing the imperial prefect elected one nominated by himself, with the consent of the Romans. A treaty was concluded between the Pope and the Tuscans, who once more acknowledged the papal authority, and bound themselves to assist the Roman see against the Emperor should need arise. Spoleto, Perugia, and other towns, also surrendered to the Pope, and papal rulers were once more established in the patrimony of St. Peter.

With regard to foreign politics it may be said that the influence of Innocent III was brought to bear on every important question which agitated the courts of Europe during the eighteen years of his pontificate, and in almost every case matters were settled in accordance with his judgement.

The vacancy in the Empire caused by the death of Henry VI in 1197 was taken advantage of by Innocent to assert his authority in imperial affairs. Henry's widow, Constance, who ruled Sicily for her two-year-old son Frederick, finding herself unable to cope with the Norman barons of the south appealed to Pope Innocent, and was soon induced to acknowledge the Pope as overlord of Sicily. In a bull issued in November 1198, Innocent confirmed his investiture of the infant Frederick as King of Sicily. (*Vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 42.)

On 28th November 1198 the Empress Constance died, having on her death-bed appointed Pope Innocent III Regent of Sicily and guardian of her son. In view of the troubled state of the Empire and the inability of the young prince to rule, Philip of Suabia, the brother of Henry VI, had been elected King of the Romans by the Ghibelline, or imperial party, in March 1198. The Guelfs,[1] or anti-imperialists, refused to acknowledge Philip, and, in April of the same year, had chosen as king Otto IV, son of Henry the Lion of the House of Brunswick, and nephew of King Richard of England. Pope Innocent declared in favour of Otto, but civil war broke out between the rivals and for some time the cause of Philip triumphed. In the summer of 1207 Innocent sent two papal legates to Germany to release Philip from the ban of excommunication previously pronounced against him and prepared to espouse his cause. But the assassination of Philip in 1208 put an end to the hopes of his supporters, and at a Diet held

[1] These terms appear first at this period. They represent the German *Welfen* (the descendants of a Duke of Bavaria, 1071) and *Waiblingen*, an old name for the Hohenstaufens.

at Frankfort in November of the same year Otto was acknowledged King by the princes of Germany. The Pope then invited Otto to come to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and he was crowned Emperor in St. Peter's on 4th October 1209. Before his coronation he took a solemn oath to acknowledge the Pope as overlord of Sicily, to leave the Church in the peaceful possession of Spoleto, Ancona, and the territories of the Countess Matilda, and to grant freedom in ecclesiastical elections.

Otto was no sooner in possession of the imperial crown than he violated this treaty with the Pope, refused to acknowledge the latter's claim to the territories of Matilda, and determined to recover for the empire all the property which Innocent III had annexed to the Church. In November 1210 Innocent issued a sentence of excommunication and deposition against Otto (*vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 363), and in the following year the young Frederick II, whose rights had been previously set aside, was chosen King of the Romans. At the battle of Bouvines, in May 1214, at which troops from England, sent by King John to the aid of his nephew, fought on Otto's side against Philip of France, the ally of Frederick, the last hopes of Otto were quenched.

Philip Augustus of France had persuaded the French bishops to grant him a divorce from his wife Ingeberga of Denmark, in order that he might marry Agnes, daughter of the Duke of Meran. On 12th December 1199 Pope Innocent placed the whole of France under an interdict on account of the King's conduct. Philip held out for nine months, when he promised to restore Ingeberga to her rights as Queen, and the interdict was removed. It was not, however, until 1213 that Innocent succeeded in forcing Philip to become reconciled with Ingeberga.

In the year 1208 an interdict was proclaimed throughout England, in order that King John might be compelled to receive Stephen Langton, the papal nominee to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. John at first affected to despise the papal power, but when the interdict was followed by excommunication, and his subjects, released from their allegiance to him, invited Louis, son of the French king, to come and take possession of the English throne, John gave way, and became as servile as he had previously been arrogant. On 13th May 1213 John surrendered his crown to the papal legate in the Church of the Templars at Ewell, and swore that he only held his kingdom as the Pope's vassal. The Pope then espoused the cause of John against the rebellious English barons, and on 24th August 1215

issued a bull declaring the Magna Charta null and void on the assumption that it had been obtained by violence. (*Vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 435.)

In November 1204 Pedro II, King of Aragon, was crowned by Innocent in Rome, and agreed to hold his kingdom in fief from the Pope. Innocent excommunicated Alphonse IX of Leon for marrying a near relative, Berengaria, daughter of Alphonse VIII, and for a similar reason annulled the marriage of the crown prince Alphonso of Portugal. The Pope also arbitrated between Emeric, King of Hungary, and his rebellious brother Andrew, and excommunicated the apostate priest, Swero, who aspired to the throne of Norway. Legates were sent by Pope Innocent to distant Iceland; and to Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland he wrote in tones of authority.

It was the great ambition of Innocent III to promote a successful crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land from the Saracens. Mainly through his efforts an army of about 200,000 crusaders was induced to set out for the East in 1202, under the leadership of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and the Marquis of Montferrat. This Fourth Crusade was, however, a complete failure so far as its original purpose was concerned, for the crusaders never reached Palestine. On the pretext of enthroning a rightful imperial claimant in Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders established there a Latin Empire, on the throne of which he afterwards seated himself. The Latin Kingdom and Church thus set up in the East lasted more than half a century, and helped to increase the prestige of the Roman see.

A so-called crusade of a different nature was also organized by Pope Innocent in southern France. Shortly after the commencement of his pontificate he despatched six prelates to France to collect information concerning certain sects of heretics which had for some time existed there, and to attempt their conversion. With a sect known as the Albigenses of southern France the labours of the legates met with little success, and Pope Innocent ordered Count Raymond of Toulouse, and other French nobles, to exterminate the heretics. As Raymond did not obey, Innocent excommunicated him. Shortly afterwards Peter de Castelnau, one of the papal legates, was murdered in France, and the Pope assumed that the murder had been committed by order of Raymond, although there is strong evidence that he was absolutely innocent. Pope Innocent now called on all the faithful of France to engage in a crusade for the extermination of the heretics, promising to all

who for forty days should devote themselves to this work a plenary indulgence. The Pope's commands were obeyed, although considerably more than forty days were required to complete the butchery, which continued as long as there were Albigenses left alive. It is stated, though obviously with some exaggeration, that a million lives were sacrificed, and about five hundred towns and castles taken. Among the leaders of this crusade the most prominent was Simon de Montfort, whose son became famous in English history in the reign of Henry III.

In 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council met, and is said to have been attended by 71 archbishops, 412 bishops, and 860 abbots or priors. Seventy reformatory decrees were passed, and a bull of Pope Innocent, granting the lands of Raymond of Toulouse to Simon de Montfort, was confirmed. (*Vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. i, p. 439.) Other business of the council had reference to the recognition of the Friars as separate orders, and the doctrine of Transubstantiation now for the first time received authoritative definition. It was also decided to organize another crusade to the East.

While on his way to Pisa to persuade that city to join Genoa in the new crusade, Pope Innocent was seized with fever, and died at Perugia on 16th July 1216, aged fifty-six. He was buried in the cathedral of Perugia, where his body remained until the pontificate of Leo XIII, who caused it to be transferred to the Lateran in 1891.

His principal works are: "Concerning the Contempt of the World and the misery of the Human Condition," in three books; a treatise, "Concerning the sacred mystery of the Altar," in six books; "An Exposition on the four-fold marriage bond," namely, between Christ and the Church, between God and the just Soul, between the Word and Human Nature, between man and woman. Seventy-nine sermons by Pope Innocent III have also been preserved.

During the pontificate of Innocent III the two great mendicant orders of Franciscan and Dominican friars were founded.

Innocent III is the sole pope of whom it may be said that he maintained throughout his pontificate, not in theory only but actually, the position of supreme Head both in Church and State. Unlike Gregory VII he had the good fortune to die before he had outlived his glory.

CLXXVI. HONORIUS III, A.D. 1216-1227

Emperor: FREDERICK II, 1212-1250

ON 18th July 1216 the cardinals assembled at Perugia chose as pope Cencius Savelli, a Roman of illustrious family. At the time of his elevation Cencius was Cardinal-priest of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. In 1197 he had been made tutor to the future Emperor Frederick II, and had also held the offices of papal chamberlain and chancellor of the Roman see. Cencius was consecrated at Perugia on 24th July, and took the name of Honorius III.

In the end of August the new pope arrived in Rome, where he was received with great joy. Being already aged at the time of his elevation he was disposed to exercise a milder rule than his predecessor, and his efforts were mainly directed to the promoting of peace throughout Christendom, in order that the princes and rulers might be free to join in a crusade.

In June 1216 Henry, the Latin Emperor of Constantinople (brother of Baldwin I, *vide* p. 305), died, and the leaders of the crusade chose as his successor his brother-in-law, Peter Courtenay, Count of Auxerre. Peter was then in France, and before proceeding to Constantinople requested the Pope to crown him as Emperor of the East. After some hesitation Honorius consented to do so, and Peter was crowned Emperor of the East in the church of St. Laurence without-the-Walls, on 9th April 1217. (*Cf.* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 453.) Honorius had declined to perform the ceremony in St. Peter's, lest it should create a precedent through which the Eastern Emperors might claim jurisdiction over the West. Honorius afterwards wrote to the Patriarch of Constantinople acknowledging the right of that dignitary to crown the Eastern Emperor, but stating that as the latter had specially desired a papal coronation the Pope had thought fit to grant his request.

As England was at this time regarded as a papal fief (*vide ante*, p. 302), Honorius exercised considerable power in that country, through his legates, during the minority of Henry III, whose cause he espoused against the rebellious barons. The Roman see derived an important part of its income at this period from England, not only from the tax of Peter's Pence, but also through the payment of 1000 marks yearly, the sum promised by John as an acknowledgment of his feudal vassalage. The Pope placed foreigners in many of the English benefices, and the English clergy were expected to send a certain

proportion of their revenues to Rome as a subsidy for the crusades. Robert Grossetête, Bishop of Lincoln, wrote a famous letter to the Pope, remonstrating with him concerning these foreigners, and denouncing the abuses of the Curia. During this pontificate Reginald, King of the Isle of Man, made over his kingdom to the Pope, as a papal fief, and received it back after doing homage as the Pope's vassal. (*Cf.* "A Hist. of the Isle of Man," by A. W. Moore, vol. i, p. 119.)

In 1219 Pope Honorius was forced to leave Rome owing to disturbances made in the city by the democratic party. Frederick II, who had been crowned King of the Romans at Aachen in 1215, now prepared to proceed to Rome to receive the imperial crown. He therefore persuaded the Romans to make peace with the Pope, who returned to the city in September 1220.

Meantime, at a Diet held at Frankfort in April 1220, Frederick has caused his son Henry, then aged eleven, to be elected King of Germany. This offended Honorius, whose consent had not been asked, but Frederick was able to restore peace by making many promises to the Pope which he did not afterwards fulfil. At a distance of a few miles from Rome Frederick was met by papal envoys, who, as the conditions of his coronation, made him promise that he would preserve the liberty of the Church; that he would restore to the Roman see the lands of the Countess Matilda; and that he would fulfil his vow, made some time previously, to set out on a crusade to the East. The coronation took place in St. Peter's on 22nd November 1220.

Three days after the ceremony Frederick set out for Sicily, having parted with the Pope on friendly terms, although each was suspicious of the other's sincerity with regard to the treaty made. On his way to Sicily Frederick called a meeting of the barons in Apulia, at which he promulgated certain laws, and also confirmed the Pope in the possession of the States of the Church and the territories of Matilda.

Frederick also deposed certain rebellious bishops from their sees, and replaced them by others, whom he invested with the ring and crozier. To the Pope's protest against this violation of his rights, Frederick replied that it was the prerogative of the King of Sicily to grant investiture to bishops, and that nothing would induce him to part with this right.

In 1221 news reached Italy that Damietta, in Lower Egypt, which had been taken by the Christians, had been recaptured by the Saracens. This news was a severe blow to the Pope,

who blamed Frederick for not yet having fulfilled his vow to set forth on a crusade.

In April 1222 the Emperor met the Pope at Veroli in order to deliberate concerning a crusade. It was agreed to hold a council at Verona in the following autumn, to which all the princes of the Empire were to be summoned. This assembly, however, never took place, but a council met at Ferrentino, in Campania, in March 1223, and was attended by the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Jerusalem, and the Patriarch, and the Grand Master of the Knights Templars. At this council, the Emperor solemnly promised to set out on the crusade within two years. As the Empress Constance had died, the Pope proposed a marriage between Frederick and Iolanthe, daughter of King John of Jerusalem. Their marriage took place in 1225, and the new Empress was crowned by the Pope immediately after the ceremony. After this marriage Frederick took the title of King of Sicily and Jerusalem, to the great indignation of his father-in-law, King John.

In 1225 a quarrel arose between the families of the Conti and the Savelli, and Pope Honorius was again obliged to leave Rome. He withdrew to Rieti in June, and did not return until January 1226. The Emperor had meanwhile acted as mediator between the Pope and the Romans, and after the election of a new senator friendly to the Pope the latter was able to return to the city.

When the time arrived at which Frederick had promised to set out on the crusade, he pleaded that the army which he had been able to raise was not sufficiently powerful for the undertaking. The Pope was deeply disappointed, but was forced to grant a delay of two more years, until August 1227. Before the stated time had elapsed Pope Honorius died. One of the last acts of this Pope was to arbitrate between the Emperor and the Lombard cities which had again rebelled. Honorius has been called the Peace-maker owing to his success in effecting reconciliations between States which had been previously at variance. He died on 18th March 1227, and was buried in the church of S. Maria Maggiore. His most important work is the "Liber Censuum Romanae Ecclesiae," written in 1192, and preserved in the Vatican library. It contains a record of the revenues of the Roman Church, and its relation to the secular authorities. He also compiled five books of Decretals, and a continuation of the "Liber Pontificalis," consisting of the Lives of Gregory VIII and Celestine III.

CLXXVII. GREGORY IX, 1227-1241

Emperor: FREDERICK II, 1212-1250

ON 19th March 1227 the Cardinals elected Hugolinus, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, to the Roman see. Hugolinus belonged to the family of the Conti of Anagni, and was the nephew of Pope Innocent III. He was eighty years of age at the time of his election, but his faculties were unimpaired, and the energy and determination which he manifested to the very close of his pontificate in his struggle against the Emperor Frederick II would have been sufficient to excite wonder even in a man in the prime of life. Under Popes Innocent III and Honorius III Hugolinus had been employed as a legate on several important missions connected with the affairs of the Empire, and had obtained much experience in dealing with ecclesiastical matters. His learning in the canon law, profound scholarship and blameless life, had further recommended him to the cardinals, as well as the fact that he was zealous to promote a crusade. He was consecrated in St. Peter's on 21st March, 1227, and took the name of Gregory IX.

Yielding to the exhortations of the Pope, that he would fulfil the vow so frequently repeated (*vide* Honorius III), to go on a crusade to the Holy Land, Frederick II at length sailed from Brindisi on the 8th September, 1227. Gregory's indignation was therefore great on learning a few days later that the fleet had returned, and that the Emperor had landed at Otranto. Scorning the message despatched by the Emperor from the baths of Pozzuoli stating that he had been taken ill at sea, the Pope pronounced a solemn sentence of excommunication against him on 29th September, 1227. Frederick replied by issuing a manifesto to the princes of Christendom, in which he declared his intention of maintaining the rights of the Empire, and protested against the pride and tyranny of the Pope.

On Easter Day 1228 Gregory repeated the sentence of excommunication against the Emperor in the presence of a large assembly in St. Peter's. By this time, however, Frederick had won over many of the Romans to his side. A mob fell on the Pope and the cardinals and drove them from the church. Gregory was forced to quit the city, and retired first to Viterbo, and afterwards to Perugia.

On 28th June 1228 Frederick, without attempting to obtain absolution, again embarked at Brindisi with the flower

of his army for the Holy Land. Gregory, on hearing of his departure, again excommunicated him, and proceeded to form alliances with the anti-imperialists in Lombardy and throughout the Empire against Frederick. The Pope also sent emissaries to the East to warn the Christians against Frederick, reminding them that he came as an excommunicated person.

Frederick, however, during his sojourn in the East, succeeded in making a truce of ten years with the Sultan of Egypt, and also concluded a treaty favourable to the Christians. It was agreed that the City of Jerusalem should be delivered up to the Emperor, but that the Holy Sepulchre should be kept by the Saracens, though the Christians were to be allowed access to it at all times. The Emperor was to recall all who were engaged in invading any of the Sultan's territories, and was to prohibit any such invasions in future.

The Pope, however, sent emissaries to the East to declare his dissatisfaction with this treaty, and although Frederick entered Jerusalem in triumph, he could not persuade any bishop there to crown him king. He accordingly placed the crown on his own head. Hearing that Apulia was occupied by papal troops, and that his kingdom of Sicily was also seriously menaced by the Pope, Frederick now hastened back to Italy, and landed at Brindisi on 12th June 1229. The Emperor assembled his forces in Apulia, and soon recovered all the places which had been taken by the papal troops.

Gregory spent the winter in Perugia, but in February 1230 he was recalled by the Romans. Serious floods had occurred in the Tiber followed by a pestilence, and the Romans, believing that this was a divine punishment for their banishment of the Pope, desired him to return. Shortly after his return negotiations were begun for a reconciliation between him and the Emperor, and in July 1230 a treaty was signed at Germano, a town on the borders of Campania. Notwithstanding the Emperor's success this treaty was favourable to the Pope. Frederick agreed to restore the States of the Church, to reinstate the banished bishops, and to pay an indemnity for the loss suffered by the Apostolic see during the war. Two cardinals were then sent to meet the Emperor near Ceprano, and to absolve him from the excommunication. A meeting afterwards took place between Frederick and the Pope at Anagni, where they remained in conference for three days, but parted mutually distrustful.

Frederick II promulgated laws against heretics, imposing

the penalties of death, banishment, and confiscation of property. In this he was supported by Pope Gregory IX, who is looked upon by some writers as the founder of the Inquisition. It is certain that while active measures were taken against heretics from the earliest Christian times, Gregory introduced new methods of inquiry and of judgement, and organized a more complete system of investigation. The monastic inquisition conducted chiefly by the Dominicans was established by Gregory IX in France, to take the place of the inquisition hitherto conducted by legates. (*Vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. i, pp. 783, 784.) Inquisitors from the Franciscan order were also appointed in Rome during this pontificate.

Rebellions of the Romans against the papal authority, and their attempts to gain possession of the patrimony of the Church, obliged the Pope to quit Rome in 1231, and again in 1234. In 1235 peace was concluded between the Pope and the Romans through the intervention of the Emperor Frederick.

Frederick was recalled to Germany in 1235 through a rebellion of his eldest son, Henry, who had been elected King of the Romans. The rebellion was soon crushed, and Henry was sent a prisoner to Naples. The Lombard cities had been concerned in this rebellion, and in 1236 Frederick began a new campaign against them. On 27th November, 1237 a great victory was won by papal troops over the Lombard allies at Cortenuova. The cities still refused, however, to make an unconditional surrender, and the Pope attempted to act as mediator, but his efforts were repulsed by Frederick. The latter further offended Gregory by making his illegitimate son, Enzio, King of Sardinia, which the Pope claimed to belong to the Roman see. The Pope now joined Venice and the Lombard cities against Frederick, and on Palm Sunday 1239, again solemnly excommunicated the Emperor. Many princes of the Empire supported Frederick, and when, in February 1240, the latter invaded the states of the Church, the Pope found himself almost without an ally. Still showing a courageous spirit, however, he organized a solemn procession in Rome, and roused the Romans to join in a crusade against the Emperor. Although Frederick did not advance on Rome, he laid waste the surrounding country, and caused all the so-called crusaders whom he captured to be ruthlessly executed.

In 1241 the Pope proposed to hold a General Council in the Lateran, and issued a summons to the prelates of Christendom. As the Emperor suspected that this council was called

for the purpose of excommunicating him anew he forbade the bishops of the Empire to attend it. The prelates, however, flocked to Venice, as the Venetians had promised to provide them with a fleet to convey them to Rome. An imperial fleet from Sardinia, commanded by Enzio, met the Genoese fleet on its way to Rome, and defeated it. Many prelates, including two cardinals, were taken prisoners, and others met their death by drowning.

Meantime John Colonna, Cardinal of St. Praxedes, had gone over to the side of the Emperor, and though the Romans now supported the Pope, his position was becoming more and more precarious. The Emperor now prepared to advance on Rome with his victorious army, but before he reached the city Pope Gregory was suddenly taken ill, and died on 21st August 1241. He was buried in St. Peter's.

Pope Gregory IX was a liberal patron of the mendicant friars. He established convents of the order of St. Clare in Lombardy, Rome, and Tuscany, and bestowed many privileges on the University of Paris, where he had been educated.

CLXXVIII. CELESTINE IV, A.D. 1241

Emperor: FREDERICK II, 1212-1250

ON the death of Gregory IX the Emperor Frederick II suspended hostilities against Rome, and issued a manifesto declaring that his quarrel had not been with the Church, but with the deceased Pope. As there were only ten cardinals in Rome, Frederick ordered the release of the two who had been imprisoned (*vide* Gregory IX) in order that they might join the conclave. For some weeks the cardinals were unable to come to any agreement with regard to the choice of a new pope. At length, on 25th October, they chose Godfrey, a native of Milan, son of John Castiglioni and of Cassandra Crivelli, the sister of Urban III. Godfrey was a Cistercian monk, and at the time of his elevation was Cardinal-priest of St. Mark and Bishop of the Sabina. The new Pope, who took the name of Celestine IV, wrote shortly after his election to the Emperor Frederick, declaring that it was his most earnest desire to bring about a lasting peace between the Empire and the papacy. But before the Emperor could reply Celestine was taken ill, and died before his consecration, on

10th November 1241. Rumour declared that he had been poisoned, but as he was old and infirm at the time of his election, it is more probable that his death was due to natural causes. He was buried in St. Peter's.

CLXXIX. INNOCENT IV, A.D. 1243-1254

Emperor: FREDERICK II to 1250
King of Germany: CONRAD IV, 1250-1254

AFTER the death of Celestine IV, the Roman see remained vacant for one year and seven months, the cardinals having meanwhile left Rome and retired to Anagni. The Romans then formed a league with Perugia, Narni, and other Guelf cities against the Emperor, pledging themselves to oppose him so long as he made war on the Church.

As the princes of Europe began to blame Frederick for the prolonged vacancy, he became himself anxious to press on the election. At length, on 25th June 1243, the cardinals, who had assembled at Anagni, chose as pope Sinibald Fieschi, a native of Genoa, the son of Hugh, Count of Lavagna. At the time of his election Sinibald was Cardinal-priest of St. Lorenzo in Lucina. He was consecrated at Anagni on 29th June, and took the name of Innocent IV. An embassy was sent by the Emperor to congratulate the new Pope on his accession, and negotiations were begun for concluding peace between the Emperor and the papacy.

In October 1243 Innocent IV went to Rome and established himself in the Lateran. The Guelf party, strengthened by the leadership of the Pope, had determined to resist the Emperor, and Viterbo rebelled against him. The Emperor besieged Viterbo, but was repulsed with great loss, and from this time his fortunes appeared to decline.

As he earnestly desired to be released from the sentence of excommunication, he promised to restore the estates of the Church, and to recognize the spiritual supremacy of the Pope over all temporal princes. A treaty was drawn up between Frederick and the Pope, but as the latter still delayed the promised absolution this treaty was never confirmed. Innocent again left Rome and proceeded to Civita Vecchia, where a Genoese fleet, commanded by his two nephews, received him on board. In July 1244 he was welcomed in his native city.

There he remained for three months, after which he proceeded to France, and reached Lyons in December.

In June 1245 Pope Innocent held a General Council at Lyons, which was attended by bishops from France, Spain, Italy, England, Scotland, and Ireland, but very few from Germany. At this Council the Pope excommunicated the Emperor anew, and declared him deposed from the imperial throne. Frederick then issued a manifesto summoning the princes of Europe to his aid against the Pope. At an interview which took place between King Louis of France and Pope Innocent in the monastery of Cluny, the King urged the Pope to make peace with the Emperor. But the Pope now refused to agree with Frederick on any terms, on the plea that the latter would not keep his word.

On 21st April 1246 the Pope wrote from Lyons to the German princes, recommending them to choose a new King of Germany, in the person of Henry, Landgrave of Thuringia. (*Cf.* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 1023.) Although the majority of German princes still adhered to the Emperor, the Archbishops of Cologne, Trèves, and Bremen, assisted by the Bishops of Metz, Spires, and Strasburg, met near Würzburg, and anointed Henry King of Germany on Ascension Day 1246. War now began in Germany between Henry and the Emperor's son, Conrad, but in February 1247 Henry was killed while besieging Ulm. On the recommendation of Pope Innocent, William, Earl of Holland, a youth of twenty, was chosen to succeed Henry as King of Germany.

In Lombardy the imperialist troops were led by Enzio, the Emperor's illegitimate son. In 1248 the Bolognese joined the Lombard rebels and defeated Enzio, who was kept a prisoner at Bologna until his death, twenty-two years later. Before the Emperor Frederick could proceed to his son's relief with an army he was taken ill in the castle of Fiorentino, near Lucera, and there died on 19th December 1250.

On receiving the news of Frederick's death, Pope Innocent left Lyons, where he had resided for over six years, and returned to Italy. He did not venture, however, to establish himself in Rome, but remained for some time at Perugia. Conrad IV, the Emperor's eldest surviving son, succeeded his father as King of Germany, but Pope Innocent refused to recognize his right to Sicily and Apulia, declaring them to be fiefs of the Apostolic see. Conrad arrived in Italy with an army and was joined with a body of Saracens, who had been allowed by the

late Emperor to settle in Sicily. With their aid he soon recovered the rebellious cities of Apulia. Naples, which resisted, was taken by storm.

Manfred, Prince of Tarentum, an illegitimate son of Frederick II, had been chosen by the latter to govern the Italian provinces and Sicily as the representative of Conrad. But Pope Innocent, who refused to recognize any of Frederick's heirs, offered the crown of Sicily first to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England, and afterwards to Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France. Both these princes rejected the offer, but Henry III of England wrote to the Pope requesting that the kingdom of Sicily might be bestowed on Edmund, his second son. To this Innocent readily agreed, and in order to carry on the war against Conrad, Henry III was forced to extort large sums in taxes from his English subjects.

In May 1253 a new Senator, Brancaleone of Andalo was appointed to Rome, and one of his first acts was to recall Pope Innocent, whose absence was felt to diminish the dignity of the city. Innocent accordingly returned to Rome, but only to find himself harassed by creditors, who declared that he must make good to them the losses involved by his prolonged absence.

On 21st May 1254 Conrad died of fever, leaving a little son, Conradin, two years old. On his deathbed Conrad had appointed his half-brother, Manfred, guardian of the young prince and regent of Sicily. Manfred now sent an embassy to the Pope, begging him to cease from hostilities, and to take Conradin under his protection. The Pope appears to have sent a favourable reply.[1] Manfred then declared his willingness to surrender the kingdom of Sicily to the Pope, and to submit to his terms. A treaty of peace was accordingly made between them, the Pope solemnly reinvesting Manfred in all the dignities which he had held during his father's lifetime, in spite of the arrangement made with Henry III of England.

Innocent then proceeded to Apulia, and on 27th October 1254 entered Naples in triumph. A few months later, however, he received news that Manfred had again rebelled against him, and had won a great victory over the papal troops at Foggia. Innocent, filled with dismay on hearing of this disaster, became

[1] The letter alleged to have been written on the subject seems to be of doubtful authenticity.

seriously ill, and died at Naples on 7th December 1254. He was buried in the cathedral of that city. During his troubled pontificate Innocent found time to write a treatise in five books, known as the "Apparatus," on the decretals of Gregory IX.

For a detailed account of the relations of Pope Innocent IV with England, see "Henry III and the Church," by Abbot Gasquet.

CLXXX. ALEXANDER IV, A.D. 1254-1261

Interregnum in Empire: 1254-1257
Rival Kings of the Romans: RICHARD, Earl of Cornwall; ALPHONSO, King of Castile, 1257

THE cardinals assembled in Naples, terror-stricken by the victories of Manfred, prepared to flee from thence on the death of Innocent IV (*q.v.*). From this they were, however, dissuaded by Berthold of Parma, whom the deceased Pope had appointed Governor of Naples. On 10th December 1254 they met in the house in which Pope Innocent IV had died, and two days later elected Roland or Reginald Conti, a native of Anagni, of the family of the Counts of Segni, and nephew of Gregory IX. At the time of his elevation Roland was Cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri. His consecration took place at Naples on 20th December, when he took the name of Alexander IV.

Gregorovius describes Pope Alexander IV as a "corpulent amiable gentleman, upright and God-fearing, but avaricious and weak." Although endowed with less energy and ability than his predecessor he found himself committed to carry on the same policy of opposition towards the Hohenstaufens. On 25th March 1255 he excommunicated Manfred, and afterwards concluded a treaty with Henry III of England, by which he confirmed the grant of Sicily made by his predecessor to Edmund of Lancaster, Henry's second son. (*Vide* Innocent IV.)

In November 1255 Alexander IV established himself in Rome, but disturbances soon broke out in the city. In 1255 the nobles caused the senator Brancaleone to be dismissed from office and imprisoned. Two years later he was reinstated, but was excommunicated by Pope Alexander for forming an alliance with Manfred against the Roman see. Brancaleone, in revenge, ordered the Pope's native city of Anagni to be razed to the

ground. Yielding to the entreaties of his relatives, Alexander made a humble submission to the senator in order to save the city. Meantime the power of Manfred, who was now master of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, continued to increase, and a papal army, which had taken the field against him, was forced to disband for lack of provisions.

In 1256 William of Holland, who had been chosen King of the Romans, was murdered in Frisia, and a double election took place in Germany. One party chose Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, and the other Alphonso, King of Castile. Richard, who was possessed of great wealth, obtained the support of the Archbishops of Cologne and Mainz, and afterwards of Pope Alexander, and was crowned King of the Romans at Aix-la-Chapelle.

On a false report of the death of Conradin (*vide* p. 314) reaching Italy Manfred assumed the title of King of Sicily and was crowned at Palermo in August 1258. When it became known in Italy that Conradin was still alive, Manfred promised to recognize his title to the crown of Sicily. Meantime the cities of Lombardy renounced their allegiance to the Pope and joined Manfred. The Pope summoned Manfred to appear before him, and on his refusal to do so or to submit to the Pope's terms the sentence of excommunication was renewed against him.

On 25th May 1261 Pope Alexander IV died at Viterbo, to which place he had gone for the purpose of holding a council, Rome being unsafe. He was buried in the church of St. Laurence in Viterbo. Pope Alexander warmly espoused the cause of the Dominican Friars, who were driven from the University of Paris during this pontificate through the attacks of William of St. Amour. Owing to the Pope's intervention and to that of Louis IX of France, the university afterwards consented to readmit the Dominicans. Alexander also supported Boniface of Savoy, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his quarrel with the other English bishops, and permitted him to tax the English clergy in order to assist his brother, the Count of Savoy, who had been deposed and imprisoned for his tyranny.

CLXXXI. URBAN IV, A.D. 1261-1264

Rival Kings of the Romans: RICHARD of Cornwall, 1257-1271; ALPHONSO of Castile, 1257-1274

THE eight cardinals (the number to which the Sacred College was then reduced) assembled at Viterbo in May 1261, but for three months were unable to agree as to the choice of a new pope. At length, on 29th August, they decided to choose Jacques Pantaleone, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had come to Viterbo on the affairs of his Church. Jacques was by birth a Frenchman, the son of a shoemaker of Troyes. After studying in Paris, where he took the degree of Doctor of Canon Law, he was made successively Archdeacon of Liège, papal legate to Poland, Bishop of Verdun, and in 1254 Patriarch of Jerusalem by Alexander IV. He was consecrated at Viterbo on 4th September, and took the name of Urban IV. During the first year of his pontificate he created fourteen new cardinals, making the number twenty-two, of whom at least half were French. Urban failed in an attempt to establish himself in Rome, and resided during the greater part of his reign at Orvieto with his cardinals.

In Germany the war continued between Alphonso of Castile and Richard of Cornwall, rival Kings of the Romans. Pope Urban IV offered to arbitrate between them, but Richard rejected the offer. The German princes, tired of the strife, proposed to reject both claimants, and elect Conradin, the young son of the late Conrad IV. This proposal was, however, strongly opposed by Pope Urban, who threatened to excommunicate any one who attempted to elect a member of that race which had so long been inimical to the Church.

Urban followed the policy of his predecessors in attempting to drive Manfred from Sicily and subject that kingdom to the Apostolic see. Pope Innocent IV (*q.v.*) had granted Sicily to Edmund, second son of Henry III of England, and this grant had been confirmed by Alexander IV. The Pope had even permitted Henry to look on the war against Manfred as a crusade, and had urged on him the necessity of raising funds for it on this pretext from his English subjects. The English, now refused to be further taxed for this purpose, and Pope Urban sent a legate to England suggesting that the agreement relating to the throne of Sicily (*vide ante*, p. 314) should be

annulled. Henry, harassed by the barons' war, was forced to consent, although much English money had already been spent on the undertaking. Pope Urban then offered the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, who had previously rejected it, but who was now prevailed on to accept it.

While these negotiations were in progress the Roman people suddenly rose against the nobles, and appointed a senator of royal rank in the person of Charles of Anjou. Another party, however, chose Manfred as senator. Pope Urban was much alarmed, for the election of either Charles or Manfred as senator would involve the downfall of the papal authority in Rome. Urban could not, however, oppose the election of his compatriot, but he induced Charles to accept the dignity of senator for five years only. Charles in turn demanded that the tribute which Naples was required to pay annually to the see of Rome should be reduced, and that the stipulation by which his descendants could not hold both the Empire and Sicily should be withdrawn. A treaty between them was at length concluded, and in May 1264 Charles sent his representatives to Rome to occupy the Capitoline fortress. Manfred had repeatedly attempted to make peace with the Pope, but in spite of the opposition of the latter he had married his daughter to the eldest son of James, King of Aragon. For this he was again excommunicated by Pope Urban, and, in revenge, he permitted his Saracen troops to ravage the Roman territory and to threaten the city. Manfred's troops were, however, forced to withdraw from Latium, where the Guelf faction rose in support of the Pope, and Doria, the general of Manfred's army, was drowned in the river Nera, near Rieti. An attempt was made by Peter de Vico, a Roman noble who had forsaken the Pope, to take Rome by treachery and hand it over to Manfred, but this failed.

Urban, finding himself unsafe in Orvieto, set out for Perugia, but died on the way, on 2nd October 1264. He was buried in the cathedral of Perugia, but his tomb was sacrificed when the cathedral was rebuilt in the thirteenth century. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 452, *note.*)

CLXXXII. CLEMENT IV, A.D. 1265-1268

Rival Kings of the Romans: RICHARD of Cornwall, 1257-1271; ALPHONSO of Castile, 1257-1274

THE vacancy in the Roman see of four months, which followed the death of Urban IV, was probably due to the absence from Italy of the prelate, whom the cardinals, assembled at Perugia, had decided to elect. This was Guido le Gros, a Frenchman, born at St. Gilles in the province of Narbonne, whose father, Fulcodius, had become a Cistercian monk, after the death of his wife. In early life Guido had embraced a military career, but had afterwards devoted himself to the study of civil law, and became the trusted counsellor of Louis IX of France. Later he entered the priesthood, and was made Archdeacon of Narbonne. By Pope Urban IV he was created Cardinal-deacon of St. Sabina, which position he occupied at the time of his elevation to the papacy.

At the time of Pope Urban's death Guido was absent on a mission to England, whither he had been sent as papal legate to excommunicate the rebellious barons. He was not, however, permitted to enter England, but was obliged to pronounce the sentence of excommunication at Boulogne, in the presence of an assembly of English bishops. Having received an urgent summons to hasten to Perugia, he proceeded thither, and his election was made known on 5th February 1265. He was consecrated at Perugia on 15th February, and took the name of Clement IV.

Previous to taking orders Clement had been married, and at the time of his elevation had two daughters living. But he refused to grant dowries to his daughters larger than they would have received had he not been elevated to the papacy. Eventually they preferred to enter convents, rather than to accept husbands of inferior rank.

From Perugia Clement wrote to Charles of Anjou, on whom Pope Urban IV had conferred the crown of Sicily, begging him to hasten to Italy. In April 1265 Charles, accompanied by his wife, Beatrix, and a number of distinguished nobles, sailed from Marseilles, leaving his army to follow by a different route. He was received in Rome with the highest honours, and received the investiture of his kingdom of Sicily from four cardinals, the Pope being still at Perugia. Charles promised that neither he nor any of his successors on the Sicilian throne

would ever suffer themselves to be elected Kings of Germany, or rulers of Lombardy or Tuscany. He also engaged to pay the yearly sum of 2,000 ounces of gold to the Roman see, and a good white horse to the Pope. A few days previously Charles had also been invested with the insignia of the senatorship, which had been conferred on him by the Romans. (*Vide* p. 318.)

Though Pope Clement still declined to come to Rome, Charles and his wife Beatrix were crowned King and Queen of Sicily in St. Peter's on 6th January 1266, the ceremony being performed by five cardinals. The position of Charles was endangered by the fact that he had insufficient funds to support his army, and he was deeply in debt. Meantime Manfred avoided battle, and wasted the country through which the French troops had to pass. The vassals of Manfred, however, began to desert him, and the French were allowed to pass the lines of defence unchecked. A battle took place at Benevento on 26th February 1264, when Manfred, deserted by his followers, met his death by rushing into the midst of the enemy.

Charles of Anjou, now master of Sicily, and Naples, treated his subjects with the greatest cruelty. Although on his first triumphant entry into Naples he was received with shouts of joy, his tyranny and oppression soon estranged the Sicilians from him. His new subjects were also taxed exorbitantly in order to pay his debts. At length the Sicilians sent a message to Conradin, the young son of Conrad IV, then in Bavaria, inviting him to come to take possession of his hereditary rights. Conradin, who was not quite sixteen years of age, prepared to accept the invitation, and with the young Duke of Austria, a youth about the same age as himself, set out for Italy with an army which they had raised. On his arrival in Italy, Conradin received the support of the Ghibelline cities of the north, and in spite of the Pope's solemn excommunication, he proceeded to Rome, where he was warmly welcomed. A brilliant victory won by one of Conradin's generals drove the French from Sicily, but on 23rd August Conradin suffered a disastrous defeat at Tagliacozzo, near Lake Celano. Conradin escaped from the battle-field, but was afterwards captured and executed on 29th October 1268, along with his young friend the Duke of Austria.

Pope Clement died at Viterbo on 29th November 1268, and was there buried in the church of the Minorite friars.

CLXXXIII. GREGORY X, A.D. 1271-1276

Rival Kings of the Romans: RICHARD of Cornwall, to 1272; ALPHONSO of Castile, to 1274; RUDOLF of Hapsburg, 1273-1291

AFTER the death of Clement IV the Roman see remained vacant for nearly three years, the cardinals who were assembled at Viterbo being unable to come to a decision respecting the choice of a new pope. They were at length persuaded to delegate the choice to six of their number, and on 1st September 1271 Theobald Visconti, Archdeacon of Liège was elected. Theobald was a native of Piacenza, the son of Hubert, of the family of the Visconti, and nephew of Otto Visconti, Archbishop of Milan. At the time of his election, Theobald was in the Holy Land, whither he had accompanied Prince Edward of England as a crusader. While at Acre he received an urgent summons to return to Italy, and arrived at Viterbo in February 1272. His consecration took place in St. Peter's, in Rome, on 27th March, when he took the name of Gregory X.

In 1272 Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, had died, and his young son Henry had been cruelly murdered the year previously. On his way home from the East Prince Edward of England visited the Pope, and persuaded him to excommunicate those who had been concerned in the murder of Henry. Gregory refused to support the claims of Alphonso of Castile, and with the Pope's approval Rudolf of Hapsburg was chosen King of the Romans by the German princes in September 1273, and was soon afterwards crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

It was the great aim of Gregory X to unite Christendom in a new crusade to the East, and with this in view he summoned a general council to meet at Lyons in 1274. Meantime Gregory undertook a journey to northern Italy, in order to mediate between the Guelf and Ghibelline factions. Having failed to bring the contending parties in Florence to an agreement, Gregory placed the city under an interdict, which remained in force until after his death. After leaving Florence, the Pope went to Milan, where he also proclaimed an interdict, on account of the deposition of his uncle the Archbishop of Milan. There he was detained for some months owing to severe illness, during which time he was visited by Philip III, King of

France, who on his departure left a strong body-guard to attend the Pope.

On 1st May 1274 the general council summoned by Gregory met at Lyons, and continued its sessions until 17th July. It was attended by 500 bishops, 70 abbots, and at least 1,000 clergy of inferior rank. The King of Aragon was present in person, and the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch. Ambassadors from the Kings of Germany, France, England, Sicily and Cyprus, also attended. The famous Dominican, St. Thomas Aquinas, died while on his way to this council; the Franciscan St. Bonaventure was present, and took a prominent part in drawing up the decrees, but died while the council was still sitting. The assembled clergy agreed to grant a tenth part of their revenues for six years for the recovery of the Holy Land. On 24th June ambassadors arrived from the Greek Emperor Michael Palæologus, and declared that the latter was willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman Church, and to accept the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. An act of union was accordingly drawn up between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, and the "Te Deum" was intoned by the Pope with tears of joy.

The election of Rudolf of Hapsburg as King of the Romans was confirmed by the council, and Alphonso of Castile, whose envoys were refused admission, was soon afterwards induced to resign his claims. An important statute was also passed by Pope Gregory X at this council with reference to papal elections. It was decreed that ten days after the death of the Pontiff the cardinals were to be confined in a single apartment in the city in which the late pope had died. No one was to be allowed access to them, and if at the end of three days they had not come to a decision, their allowance of food, which was to be conveyed to them daily through a small aperture was to be decreased, until they had chosen a pope. This statute was framed in order to prevent the recurrence of another prolonged vacancy in the Roman see. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," trans., vol. v, pt. 2, p. 467.)

After leaving Lyons Pope Gregory visited many cities on his return journey to Italy. At Lausanne he had an interview with Rudolf of Hapsburg, who agreed to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown, and afterwards to proceed to the Holy Land. During his short sojourn in Florence the Pope removed the interdict from the city, but renewed it as he passed through the gates on his departure.

The Pope was proceeding to Perugia where he intended to await the arrival of Rudolf, but only reached Arezzo, thirty-three miles from his destination. There he fell ill, and died on 10th January 1276. He was buried in the cathedral of Arezzo, where his tomb may still be seen.

CLXXXIV. INNOCENT V, A.D. 1276

King of the Romans: RUDOLF of Hapsburg, 1273-1291

IN accordance with the decree passed at the council of Lyons in 1274, the cardinals shut themselves up in Arezzo ten days after the death of Pope Gregory X. On this occasion they were not long in coming to a decision, for on 21st January, Peter, a Frenchman, a native of Tarantaise in Savoy, was elected pope.

Peter had entered the Dominican order at the age of sixteen, and had become famous for his learning. By Pope Gregory X he had been made Archbishop of Lyons, and afterwards Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, which position he held at the time of his elevation to the papacy. He was consecrated pope in St. Peter's in Rome on 23rd February, with the title of Innocent V.

As it was his desire to continue the peace-making policy of his predecessor, he sent legates to Tuscany to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the Guelf and Ghibelline factions. He also attempted to mediate between Rudolf of Hapsburg, and Charles, King of Sicily, between whom a quarrel seemed imminent. Innocent had honoured his countryman by confirming to him the senatorial dignity, and also allowed Charles to continue to administer the imperial rights in Tuscany. This naturally displeased Rudolf, and the Pope wrote requesting him to delay his arrival in Rome until he had first restored the Romagna to the Church. Meantime, however, Pope Innocent V died in Rome on 22nd June 1276, after a pontificate of five months. He was buried in the Lateran church.

CLXXXV. HADRIAN V, A.D. 1276

King of the Romans: RUDOLF of Hapsburg, 1273-1291

AT the time of the death of Pope Innocent V, Charles King of Sicily was in Rome, and took the opportunity of exercising his senatorial authority in the arrangements for the papal election. In accordance with the statute of Gregory X (*q.v.*), he caused the cardinals to be confined in the Lateran, during the meeting of the conclave, and as they disputed for over a week without coming to a decision, their food supply was limited to bread, wine, and water. At length on 11th July, they chose as pope, Ottoboni Fieschi, a native of Genoa, the nephew of Innocent IV. He had twice been employed on missions to England as papal legate, and in 1266, had held a council at Northampton, at which he excommunicated all who had adhered to Simon de Montfort. At the time of his elevation he was Cardinal-deacon of St. Hadrian, and after his election he took the name of Hadrian V.

One of his first acts was to release his native city Genoa from interdict. He is said to have been in a dying condition when elected. Having gone to Viterbo on business, he died there on 18th August, after a pontificate of about five weeks, and without having received consecration. He was buried in the church of the Franciscans at Viterbo. Just before his death Hadrian V suspended the statute promulgated by Gregory X at the Council of Lyons (*vide* p. 322) concerning papal elections.

CLXXXVI. JOHN XXI (XX), A.D. 1276-1277

King of the Romans: RUDOLF of Hapsburg, 1273-1291

A TUMULT which took place in Viterbo where the cardinals had assembled after the death of Innocent V, had the effect of bringing them to a decision regarding the choice of a new pope, and on 8th September 1276, Peter, the son of Julian, a native of Lisbon, was elected. Peter had studied at the University of Paris, and was deeply learned in science and medicine. He became professor of medicine in the University of Paris, and afterwards physician in ordinary to Pope Gregory X. Later he entered the priesthood, and was made Archbishop of Braga, and Cardinal-bishop of Tusculum

by Gregory X. He accompanied the latter Pope to the council of Lyons in 1274, and took a prominent part in the debates. His consecration took place at Viterbo on 20th September, when he took the name of John XXI, although only the twentieth pope of that name, the confusion having arisen from the doubling of John XV (*vide* p. 209). One of the first acts of the new Pope was to confirm the suspension of the statute of Gregory X, concerning papal elections. (*Vide* p. 322.)

In October 1276, Charles, King of Sicily, visited the Pope at Viterbo, and renewed the oath of fealty for his kingdom, by which he promised that neither he nor his successors would ever attempt to unite the Empire, Lombardy or Tuscany, with Sicily. Pope John also sent legates with letters to Rudolf, King of the Romans, forbidding him to come to Rome to receive the imperial crown until he had first restored the territory of Romagna to the Roman see. John was successful in mediating between Philip III of France and Alphonso of Castile, who had quarrelled, and averted the outbreak of a war between them.

The monks appear to have looked on John with suspicion on account of his learning, and by certain writers he is accused of having practised magic. He was the friend of scholars, with whom he delighted to converse. He is said to have imprudently asserted that he would live long, but this prophecy was not destined to be fulfilled. He caused a chamber to be built in his palace at Viterbo where he might work undisturbed. On 14th May 1277, while Pope John was alone in this chamber, it suddenly collapsed, burying him under the ruins. He was extricated seriously injured, and died on 20th May. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 457.) He was buried in the Church of St. Laurence at Viterbo.

One account states that at the time of his death Pope John XXI was meditating the issue of an edict against the monks and friars. He was the reputed author of a work on medicine, known as "Thesaurus Pauperum" or "The Treasure of the Poor," which gives a remedy for the diseases of all parts of the body. Some modern authorities, however, doubt his authorship of this book. He also wrote "Summulae Logicales," which was for three hundred years a favourite text-book of logic.

CLXXXVII. NICHOLAS III, A.D. 1277-1280

King of the Romans: RUDOLF of Hapsburg, 1273-1291

AS the statute of Gregory X (*q.v.*) concerning papal elections had been suspended, the cardinals assembled at Viterbo were free to spend as much time as they pleased before making a selection. Six months accordingly elapsed before they agreed on the choice of a new pope. In spite of the efforts of Charles, King of Sicily, to secure the election of a Frenchman friendly to his interests, the cardinals, on 25th November, at length chose Giovanni Gaetani, a Roman of the powerful family of Orsini, son of Matthew Rubeus, who had been Senator of Rome from 1242-1264. At the time of his elevation Gaetani was Cardinal-deacon of St. Nicholas in Carcere, and had served under eight popes. By Innocent V he had been made Protector of the Order of the Minorites, and Inquisitor-General. He was consecrated in St. Peter's in Rome, on 26th December, and took the name of Nicholas III.

Rudolf, King of the Romans, was still prevented by the affairs of Germany from proceeding to Rome to receive the imperial crown. In June 1278 Pope Nicholas obtained from Rudolf a confirmation of the grants said to have been made by former emperors to the Apostolic see, and the territories of the Romagna and the Pentapolis were restored to the Pope.

Nicholas III placed his relatives in all the most lucrative offices, and bestowed on his nephews the territories recovered by the Roman see. It is said that he even prepared a scheme by which Italy was to be divided into two kingdoms, on the thrones of which were to be placed two members of the house of Orsini.

From the beginning of his pontificate Pope Nicholas had to face the hostility of Charles, King of Sicily, who had opposed his election. According to one account the enmity between them was considerably augmented by the haughty refusal of Charles to agree to a proposal made by the Pope that he should marry his niece to one of the Pope's nephews.

To compensate Rudolf for his surrender of the Romagna Nicholas made him Vicar of Tuscany, an office previously held by Charles of Sicily. The office of Senator had been bestowed on Charles by the Roman people (*vide ante*, p. 318), but the ten years during which it was agreed by Pope Clement IV that he might hold the dignity expired on 16th September 1278. Pope

Nicholas then compelled Charles to resign the office, and caused himself to be elected Roman Senator for life. He then caused a statute to be drawn up, forbidding for the future any emperor, king, prince, duke, count, or baron to be elected Senator, or to hold any important municipal office.

Unlike his predecessor Nicholas III favoured the monks, to whom he granted many privileges. He enlarged the Vatican by the erection of several new buildings, and caused a garden to be enclosed, and a fountain to be erected in the precincts. Nicholas insisted that the union agreed on with the Greek Church at the council of Lyons (*vide* Gregory X) should be confirmed, and refused to hear of any concessions with regard to the differences in doctrine.

On 22nd August 1280 Pope Nicholas III died suddenly of apoplexy at his country house at Soriano, near Viterbo. His body was conveyed to Rome, and was buried in St. Peter's, in the chapel of St. Nicholas, which he had almost entirely rebuilt.

CLXXXVIII. MARTIN IV, A.D. 1281-1285

King of the Romans: RUDOLF of Hapsburg, 1273-1291

THE cardinals assembled at Viterbo after the death of Nicholas III, but were unable for some time to agree as to the choice of a new pope. Meantime Charles, King of Sicily, used his influence to secure the election of a pope favourable to his interests. Two of the Orsini Cardinals, who belonged to the family of the late Pope, were arrested and imprisoned by Richard Anibaldi, governor of Viterbo, on a charge of preventing freedom of election. After the disputes had lasted six months, the remaining cardinals were induced, on 22nd February 1281, to elect as pope Simon de Brion, a Frenchman of Touraine. At the time of his election Simon was Cardinal-priest of St. Cecilia, and had been for many years canon and treasurer of the church of St. Martin at Tours.

The Pope-elect took the name of Martin IV, although only the second of that name, on account of a confusion which had arisen between the names of Martin and Marinus, the latter name having been borne by two popes. Martin left Viterbo soon after his election, having placed that city under an interdict because of the recent tumults. As the Romans declined to receive him, he was consecrated at Orvieto on 23rd March.

The Romans, divided into two factions, had elected two rival senators—Pietro de Conti and Gentile Orsini. Pope Martin sent two cardinals to Rome in order to put an end to the disturbances by a reconciliation between him and the Romans. They succeeded in persuading the two senators to resign, and to make over the senatorial authority to Pope Martin IV for life. Martin then chose Charles of Sicily, who was with him at Orvieto, Senator during his own (the Pope's) lifetime. Thus Charles resumed the dignity of which he had previously been deprived by Pope Nicholas III (*vide* p. 327), and as Martin IV was almost entirely under his influence his power now reached its height in Italy.

In November 1281 Pope Martin excommunicated the Greek Emperor, Michael Palaeologus, on the charge of having failed to keep the treaty of union agreed on at the Council of Lyons. (*Vide* Gregory X.) Some writers state that the breach between the Pope and Michael was brought about in the interests of Charles of Sicily, who had planned an expedition for the conquest of the Eastern Empire. Thus the union between the Latin and Greek Churches was once more dissolved.

Meantime a secret conspiracy had been formed against Charles, whose tyrannical rule had won for him the hatred of his Sicilian subjects. The conspirators, led by John, lord of Procida, who had been banished from his dominions by Charles, determined to depose the latter and to place Peter, King of Aragon, the husband of Constance, daughter of Manfred on the throne of Sicily. It was agreed that on Easter Tuesday, 31st March 1282, at the ringing of the bells for vespers, the Sicilians should rise and massacre all the French in the island. This horrible slaughter took place as had been arranged, neither age nor sex being spared, and the tragedy is known in history as the "Sicilian Vespers." Peter of Aragon then proceeded to Sicily with his fleet and was crowned King at Palermo. Although Pope Martin excommunicated Peter and placed the island under an interdict, all the inhabitants rose in his defence, being determined to abolish for ever the rule of the hated French.

Charles having obtained the assistance of French troops embarked at Naples and sailed to Sicily, where he laid siege to Messina. Ambassadors meanwhile passed between Charles and the King of Aragon, and Charles proposed that they should meet in single combat to decide the quarrel. It was arranged that the combat should take place at Bordeaux, which was within the Gascon territory of King Edward I of England, but

the latter refused to permit this. As Pope Martin also prohibited the combat it did not take place.

On 22nd March 1283 Pope Martin IV issued a bull in which he again excommunicated Peter of Aragon, and declared all his subjects to be released from their allegiance to him. (*Vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 1777.) The Sicilians, as well as his subjects in Aragon, however, remained faithful to Peter. The Pope afterwards bestowed the kingdom of Aragon on Charles of Valois, the youngest son of Philip III of France.

Charles of Sicily meantime went to Provence to raise fresh troops, and during his absence his fleet was met and destroyed in the Bay of Naples by the admiral of the King of Aragon. His young son Charles, Prince of Salerno, was also taken prisoner by the enemy. Charles, overcome with grief and fatigue, was hastening to the rescue of his son when he was taken ill at Foggia, and died there on 7th January 1285. The Romans had previously repudiated the senatorial power of Charles, and had appointed a popular government.

Pope Martin IV had retired to Perugia, where he celebrated the Easter of 1285. After dining with his cardinals on Easter Day he was suddenly taken ill, and died four days later on 29th March. He was buried in the church of St. Laurence at Perugia, in the habit of a Franciscan friar, to which order he had granted many privileges.

Martin IV is described as a gentle and well-intentioned prelate, but entirely under the influence of Charles, King of Sicily.

CLXXXIX. HONORIUS IV, A.D. 1285-1287

King of the Romans: RUDOLF of Hapsburg, 1273-1291

ON 2nd April 1285 the cardinals, who were assembled at Perugia, chose as pope, Giacomo Savelli, a Roman, son of the Senator Lucas and of Johanna Aldobrandesca, a member of the family of the Counts of Santa Fiora. Giacomo was a grand-nephew of Pope Honorius III, and had at one time held the benefice of Berton, in the diocese of Norwich. At the time of his elevation to the papacy he was Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Cosmedin. When elected he was already aged and so much afflicted with gout that he had lost the use of his limbs, and was forced to use a mechanical contrivance to raise his hands at the elevation of the host. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. v, pt. ii, p. 504.) Soon after

his election he proceeded to Rome, and was consecrated in St. Peter's on 15th May, with the title of Honorius IV. The Romans invested Pope Honorius with the senatorial authority for life, and he immediately confirmed his brother Pandulf in the office of Senator. The aged Pope and his brother ruled with wisdom and discretion, and during this pontificate peace reigned in the city.

On 11th November 1285 Peter of Aragon died, leaving the kingdom of Aragon to his eldest son Alphonso, and Sicily to his second son James, who was crowned at Palermo. In order to obtain release from his imprisonment Charles II, Prince of Salerno, and now King of Naples (*vide* Martin IV), made a treaty with James, King of Sicily, by which he promised to surrender all claim to the kingdom of Sicily. Pope Honorius, however, declared this treaty to be null, and solemnly excommunicated James, who by refusing to recognize the claims of Charles had denied the suzerainty of the Pope over Sicily.

Friendly relations were maintained between Pope Honorius and Rudolf, King of the Romans, but the death of the Pope once more prevented the imperial coronation of Rudolf from taking place.

This Pope resided during the greater part of his pontificate in a palace which he had caused to be erected on the Aventine. There he died on 3rd April 1287, and was buried in St. Peter's. It is recorded that Pope Honorius IV granted many privileges to the Carmelite and Augustinian friars, and that he approved the teaching of oriental languages in the University of Paris to those who intended to devote themselves to missionary labours in the East. (*Vide* Artaud de Montor, "Hist. des Souverains Pontifes Romains," vol. iii, p. 65.)

CXC. NICHOLAS IV, A.D. 1288-1292

Kings of the Romans: RUDOLF of Hapsburg, 1273-1291; ADOLF of Nassau, 1291-1298

IN April 1287 the cardinals assembled in the palace on the Aventine, in which Pope Honorius IV had died, with the purpose of electing a new pope, but they continued to dispute for some months without being able to agree on the choice to be made.

Meantime they were overtaken by the summer heat, and

most of them fell ill with fever, of which six died. The survivors were therefore obliged to postpone the election to a more convenient season, and, with the exception of Jerome, Cardinal-bishop of Praeneste, all retired from Rome. Jerome remained in the city, and by causing fires to be burned constantly in all the apartments of the papal palace, he succeeded in escaping the fever. This seems to have won for him the approbation of the cardinals, who, on their return to Rome in the autumn, were unanimous in electing him Pope in spite of his earnest desire to evade the high honour.

Jerome was a native of Ascoli in Lombardy, and was of humble birth. He had become a Franciscan friar at an early age, and after the death of St. Bonaventura had been made general of the order. Under Gregory X he had acted as papal legate to the East, and by Nicholas III had been made Cardinal-bishop of Praeneste. He took the title of Nicholas IV, and his consecration took place in St. Peter's on 22nd February 1288, the Roman see having by that time been vacant ten months.

Pope Nicholas warmly espoused the cause of Charles II, King of Naples, against the House of Aragon. (*Vide* Honorius IV.) Through the intervention of Edward I of England Charles was released from his captivity, and made a second treaty with the Kings of Aragon and Sicily, promising to surrender his claim to the kingdom of Sicily. Pope Nicholas IV, however, refused to sanction the fulfilment of this treaty on the plea that the kingdom of Sicily was a fief of the Holy See, and that Charles had no power to surrender it to another. During the first year of his pontificate Nicholas IV resided in Rome, the Romans having conferred on him the senatorial power for life. In the spring of 1289 tumults in Rome obliged him to withdraw to Rieti, where on 29th May of the same year he solemnly crowned Charles II King of Sicily and Apulia. Charles acknowledged himself a vassal of the Pope for these kingdoms, although Sicily was still held by James of Aragon.

In order to release his kingdom from interdict, Alphonso, King of Aragon, entered into negotiations with the Pope, and promised that he would cease to support the claims of his brother James to Sicily. But in 1291 Alphonso died without issue, leaving the kingdom of Aragon to James. The latter set out for Aragon to claim possession, leaving his younger brother Frederick to rule Sicily. The Pope now demanded that James should confirm the treaty made by his brother Alphonso, but

James refused to do so, and the war with Charles of Naples continued (*vide* p. 330).

In 1291 Rudolf, King of the Romans, died, without having been crowned Emperor. The claims of his son Albert were, for the time being, set aside, and Adolf, Earl of Nassau, was chosen to succeed him in Germany. Pope Nicholas allied himself closely with the powerful family of Colonna, who belonged to the Ghibelline faction. Two members of this family were promoted by Nicholas to be cardinals, another was made Count of the Romagna, and a fourth Senator of Rome.

It was the earnest desire of Pope Nicholas to promote a crusade, and he equipped at his own expense an army of 2,000 foot and 500 horse, and hired vessels from the Venetians to transport them to the East. But the news that the last Christian possessions in the East had been lost, and that even Acre had been taken by the Sultan, filled the Pope with shame and grief, and is said to have been his death-blow.

He died on 4th April 1292, in a palace which he had built in Rome, near Sta. Maria Maggiore. He was buried in the left aisle of that church, near a small door called the Porta Reginae. On his tombstone, which was ornamented with mosaics, was engraved a Latin epitaph quoted by Duchesne. Sixtus V, before his elevation to the papacy, caused a magnificent tomb to be erected to the memory of Nicholas IV, the first Franciscan pope, and Benedict XIV caused his remains afterwards to be translated to the entrance of the church to the left of the principal door. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 467.)

Pope Nicholas IV repaired the Lateran and the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore. He also caused the streets of the city to be widened and several stately buildings to be erected.

CXCI. CELESTINE V, A.D. 1294

King of the Romans: ADOLF of Nassau, 1291-1298

AFTER the death of Nicholas IV the cardinals were unable to agree concerning the place of the new election. They met first in the palace where the late Pope had died, near Sta. Maria Maggiore, afterwards adjourned to the palace built by Honorius IV on the Aventine, and later to Sta. Maria sopra Minerva. In none of these places did they come to a

decision concerning the choice of a new pope, and the summer heat supervening they were obliged to separate.

After the lapse of more than a year they reassembled at Perugia in October 1293. There they found themselves divided into two opposite factions led on one side by the Orsini, on the other by the Colonna. At length Latinus, Cardinal of Ostia, happened one day to mention the name of a certain hermit, Peter Morrone, who was then famous throughout Italy for his miracles and his sanctity. It was suggested that he might be elected pope, and the wearied cardinals, eager to put an end to the prolonged conclave, unanimously agreed to the choice.

Peter Morrone was a native of Apulia, the son of a poor farmer named Angelerico and of his wife Mary, who had a family of eleven children. Peter had become a Benedictine monk at a very early age, but his love of solitude caused him to retire to a mountain cave, near Sulmona. He founded a monastery in that district, and an order which afterwards bore his name.

Three prelates were despatched by the cardinals to the hermit's retreat to inform him of the high honour which had been conferred on him. They found an old man emaciated by fasting, with a long shaggy beard and sunken eyes, clothed in sackcloth, and crouched in a cave in which he could neither stand nor sit upright. On being informed of his election to the pontifical throne he threw himself on his knees and begged piteously to be excused from undertaking a burden for which he was wholly unfitted. It is said that he even attempted to escape in order to hide himself in the mountains, but was prevented by the crowd of people, who had assembled from all parts on hearing of his election.

Charles II, King of Naples, on learning that one of his own subjects had been elected to the papacy, hastened with his son Charles Martel, King of Hungary, to the hermit's retreat, and succeeded in persuading Peter to go with him to the monastery of the Holy Ghost at the foot of the mountain. From thence they advanced in a great procession to Aquila, a frontier town of the kingdom of Naples. The Pope-elect entered Aquila riding on an ass, in token of his humility, the two kings on either side holding the bridle. Many thousands of spectators are said to have assembled to witness his entry. As Peter refused to go to Perugia his consecration took place in a church outside the walls of Aquila, on 24th August 1294, when he took the name of Celestine V.

Before leaving Aquila, Celestine renewed the famous statute of Gregory X (*vide* pp. 322, 324) concerning papal elections. (*Vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 1918.) He also, on the advice of Charles, elected thirteen new cardinals, of whom seven were French. The Pope then proceeded to Naples and took up his abode in the royal palace, where he became the tool of King Charles, and refused to go either to Rome or to Perugia.

Meantime he lavished bishoprics and other offices on his brethren from the Abruzzi, and on all manner of incapable persons. So great was his simplicity that he often granted the same benefice over and over again. He shrank from appearing in public, and at the approach of Advent he caused a cell to be constructed within the royal palace, from which he could not see the sky.

It soon became evident that his extreme sanctity did not compensate for his incapacity and entire lack of experience in worldly affairs. The cardinals now realized their mistake, and began to form schemes to get rid of him. It is said that Cardinal Benedict Gaetani (afterwards Boniface VIII) used his influence to persuade the unfortunate Pope to resign. It is evident that the Pope himself was ill at ease, and desired nothing so much as to return to his former solitude. News of his probable resignation having got abroad, a great multitude of monks and people surrounded the palace at Naples, and called on him with shouts to remain Pope. He returned an evasive answer, which satisfied them, and they retired chanting the "Te Deum."

On 13th December 1294 Pope Celestine assembled the cardinals, and after reading a bull declaring the abdication of a pope to be permissible under certain circumstances, he pronounced his resignation in the following words: "I, Celestine, the fifth Pope of that name, being moved by lawful causes, by motives of humility, by the desire of leading a more perfect life, by my great age, my infirmities, my want of experience and ignorance of all worldly affairs, and wishing to enjoy the comforts and sweets that are found in retirement, do hereby freely and of my own accord renounce the papacy, and with it all the dignity, the burden, the honour, giving from this instant full power to the Sacred College to elect according to the canons a pastor for the church universal." Celestine then divested himself of his pontifical robes, and prepared with joy to return to his former solitude. But his successor, Pope Boniface VIII who was elected a few days later had no

intention of granting Celestine his liberty, lest there should be a reaction in his favour. On leaving Naples Boniface took Celestine with him, but on the way to Rome the aged hermit succeeded in escaping and returned to Sulmona, where he was welcomed with great joy by the monks of his order. Soon, however, messengers, sent by Pope Boniface VIII, arrived to arrest him. Celestine embarked on a vessel with the intention of escaping to Dalmatia, but was driven back by a storm and captured. Pope Boniface caused him to be confined in a narrow cell in the castle of Fumone, near Anagni, where he suffered cruel hardships. There he died nine months later, at the age of ninety-one. He was buried in the church of the Convent of St. Antony, near Anagni. In 1327 his remains were removed to Aquila and deposited in the church of St. Maria di Collemaggio, where his monument, a work of the sixteenth century, may still be seen.

He was canonized by Pope Clement V in 1313, and his festival is celebrated on 19th May. Dante in his "Inferno" condemns Pope Celestine for his abdication, which he calls *il gran' rifiuto*—"the great refusal."

CXCII. BONIFACE VIII, A.D. 1294-1303

Kings of the Romans: ADOLF of Nassau, 1292-1298; ALBERT of Austria, 1298-1308

ON the resignation of Pope Celestine V, the conclave assembled at Naples in the Castel Nuovo, and on 24th December 1294 chose as Pope, with the approval of Charles of Naples, Benedict Gaetani, Cardinal-priest of St. Martin's. It would have been impossible to find another whose character offered a more striking contrast to that of his predecessor. Benedict was the son of Loffred, a descendant of a noble family of Anagni, and on his mother's side was the nephew of Alexander IV. At Paris he had completed his studies by obtaining the degree of doctor of canon and civil law, and had acted as legate to nearly every important country in Christendom. He was of blameless character, but was arrogant and haughty in demeanour, determined to uphold at all costs the supremacy of the Apostolic see. Dean Milman has appropriately remarked that "he surveyed Christendom with the

haughty glance of a master, but not altogether with the cool and penetrating wisdom of a statesman."

Before leaving Naples the Pope-elect revoked, with the approval of the cardinals, the favours and privileges bestowed with reckless prodigality on unsuitable persons by his simple-minded predecessor. His consecration took place in St. Peter's in Rome, on 23rd January 1295, when he took the name of Boniface VIII.[1] The ceremony was performed with unexampled pomp and splendour, the kings of Naples and Hungary attending with their retinues.

In June 1295 James, King of Aragon, made peace with the Pope, and renounced his claim to the island of Sicily. His brother, Frederick III, refused, however, to surrender his claims, and, being supported by the Sicilians, was crowned King of Sicily at Palermo on 25th March 1296. Pope Boniface then excommunicated Frederick III, and James, who had promised to support the rights of the Roman see, was compelled to take up arms against his brother.

In 1302 Charles of Valois, on whom Martin IV had bestowed Aragon as a papal fief (*vide* p. 329), made an expedition against Sicily, but was defeated by Frederick. The latter afterwards acknowledged himself a vassal of the Church, and made peace with the Pope and with his brother James, to whom the Pope had granted Sardinia and Corsica as a reward for his support.

Bitter enmity had long existed between the noble families of Orsini and Colonna. Pope Boniface had connected himself with the Orsini, and had also interfered in the family disputes of the Colonna. The latter, two of whom were cardinals, had in consequence opposed his election, though they afterwards acquiesced in it. Under Nicholas IV the Colonna cardinals had been the Pope's chief advisers (*vide* p. 332), and they could now ill brook the loss of their position. The cardinals having compromised themselves by entering into relations with the Sicilians, the political enemies of the Pope, a quarrel arose, and the Colonna, who held the city of Palestrina, issued a protestation condemning the election of Boniface, and declaring that Pope Celestine V had no power to abdicate. The Colonna further appealed to a general council, to prove the usurpation of Boniface. The Pope replied by excommunicating the whole Colonna family, and depriving the two cardinals of their ecclesiastical rank. With the help of the Orsini the Pope sent troops to destroy all the fortresses of the Colonna and to

[1] Boniface VII was an antipope, *see* p. 205.

seize their lands. They were obliged to flee, some to Sicily and others to France, where later they took the side of Philip the Fair in his quarrel with Boniface.

In 1298 Adolf of Nassau was slain in battle near Göllheim, and Albert of Austria, the son of Rudolf of Hapsburg, was chosen to succeed him as King of the Romans. Boniface, whose consent had not been asked, at first refused to recognize Albert, and is said to have intended at one time to bestow the imperial crown on Charles of Valois. After his quarrel with Philip of France, however, Boniface sought the protection of Germany, and in April 1303 he consented to recognize Albert as King of the Romans.

During this pontificate the city of Florence was divided into two factions—the Bianchi or Ghibellines, who represented the popular party, and the Neri or Guelfs, who represented the aristocracy. Pope Boniface sent a legate to Florence to attempt to bring about a reconciliation between the factions, but the latter failed in his attempt, and the Pope placed the city under an interdict.

The Scottish council of Regency appealed to Boniface VIII to protect them against the claims of Edward I to exercise feudal superiority over the country, and at first the Pope seemed inclined to support them. In June 1299 Boniface wrote to Edward I, declaring that Scotland had belonged to the Roman see from the earliest times, and ordering the King to release the Scottish prelates held in prison. (*Vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 1987.) Later, however, in order to get the support of Edward I against Philip the Fair of France, Boniface was induced to side against the Scots.

In order to carry on the war against each other in which they were engaged, the English and French monarchs both levied taxes on their clergy. In 1296 Boniface VIII issued his famous bull, "Clericis Laicos," in which he forbade the laity of whatsoever rank to tax the clergy. Any layman receiving such money was to be excommunicated, and clergy who submitted to such taxes were to be deposed. (*Vide* Henderson's "Hist. Documents," ed. Bohn, pp. 432-434.)

Edward I refused to yield to these threats, and declared that those who refused to contribute to the temporal power should no longer enjoy its protection. This placed the clergy in a state of outlawry, and they were soon glad to give way and to grant one fourth of their revenues. In France the bull was received by Philip with great indignation. He immediately

ordered that since the French clergy might not be taxed, money should no longer be exported from France to Italy. This deprived the Roman see at one blow of all supplies from France, and the Pope was soon forced to agree to a compromise.

In 1298 the French and English monarchs became desirous of peace, and the Pope was invited to act as arbiter between them. A reasonable agreement was drawn up by Boniface, making restitutions on both sides, and the treaty was signed in Rome. Later, however, the Pope excited considerable contention by publishing his judgement in the form of a papal bull, although he had proposed to arbitrate as a private person.

In the year 1300 the first great Jubilee Festival was held in Rome, and was attended by a vast concourse of pilgrims from all parts of the world. Boniface issued a bull promising an indulgence to all who should visit the churches of S. Peter and S. Paul during the year. The offerings made by the thousands of pilgrims, who entered and left the city daily, are said to have been so enormous as to be beyond all calculations. Two priests stood by the altar with rakes to gather the uncounted gold and silver. These offerings were placed at the disposal of the Pope, who was much in need of money to defray the expenses of the war with Sicily. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "Hist. of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. v, pt. 2, p. 561.) Boniface VIII now seemed at the height of his power, but he had made many enemies, and had detached from his side the Franciscans by confiscating their wealth.

The quarrel between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip IV (the Fair) of France is shown by many writers to mark a turning point in the fortunes of the medieval papacy, after which it slowly and steadily declined, never again reaching its former supremacy. Although Boniface had made peace with France, several minor matters contributed to renew the quarrel. A papal legate had been imprisoned for asserting the right of the Roman see to administer vacant benefices in France, and a papal bull, in which Boniface reproved the King for his attacks on the Church, was publicly burned in Paris on 11th February 1302. The French clergy supported the King, and wrote to the Pope opposing his claim to stand above the Sovereign in temporal matters.

In November 1302 Boniface issued his bull "Unam Sanctam," in which he declared that it was "altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the

Roman Pontiff." (*Vide* Henderson's "Hist. Documents," ed. Bohn, p. 437.)

There was at this time living in France a famous lawyer, William de Nogaret, whose ancestors had suffered as heretics during the persecution in southern France under Innocent III, and who was a bitter enemy of the Pope. At a Parliament held in the Louvre in March 1303, Nogaret drew up the following accusations against the Pope, and proposed to submit them to a general council: 1. That Boniface VIII was not the true Pope. 2. That he was a heretic. 3. That he had been guilty of notorious simony. 4. That he was a man convicted of dishonesty and other crimes, and was an insupportable load and burden to the Church. At another meeting still worse charges were brought against Boniface, and although most of these were false, the French nobles and clergy professed to believe them, and joined, with certain Italian nobles, including the Colonna, in a conspiracy against the Pope.

Boniface had retired to his palace at Anagni in order to escape the summer heat, and while there news reached him of what had taken place at the meetings of the French Parliament. Summoning his cardinals, Boniface prepared a sentence of excommunication against Philip, declaring the French people to be absolved from their allegiance to him, all oaths sworn to him to be annulled, and all leagues in which he had a share dissolved. This sentence was to be pronounced against Philip on 8th September 1303, after which date he would cease to be King of France. Philip determined, however, to prevent the Pope from pronouncing this sentence. Meantime William de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna had been sent to Italy to rouse the people against Boniface. On the morning of the 7th September they entered Anagni at the head of an armed band, with the cries of "Death to the Pope! Long live the King of France!"

Sciarra Colonna with three hundred horsemen appeared before the papal palace, and called on the Pope to surrender. Boniface asked for a truce of nine hours, which was granted, but he was unable during that time to raise the people of Anagni to his defence, and even his nephews and servants fled. The French stormed the palace and set fire to the Cathedral, and the Pope was left almost alone. When the Frenchmen broke into the palace they found the aged Pontiff arrayed in his pontifical robes, and seated in the papal chair. It is said that Sciarra Colonna struck him with his gauntlet

and would have killed him had not the others intervened. Boniface was seized, and conveyed with many insults to a place of imprisonment in the town.

After three days a reaction in his favour among the people of Anagni caused him to be released from prison. Four hundred horsemen under two of the Orsini were sent to convey him to Rome, where he was received with signs of reverence. He, however, shut himself up in the Vatican, for the city was in a tumult, being divided into the factions which adhered to the Colonna and the Orsini respectively. When he desired to go to the Lateran he was forbidden, and found himself again a prisoner. Boniface then became almost insane with grief, and died a few weeks later, on 11th October 1303. He was buried in a chapel which had been built by himself in a crypt in the Vatican.

Much that has been written against Boniface VIII by his enemies is believed by modern historians to be entirely false. It seems evident that he underestimated the strength of the forces arrayed against him, and failed to realize that the supremacy of the papacy in temporal affairs had already passed its zenith.

CXCIII. BENEDICT XI, A.D. 1303-1304

King of the Romans: ALBERT of Austria, 1298-1308

AS the statute of Gregory X concerning papal elections was again in force (*vide* p. 334), the cardinals, ten days after the death of Boniface VIII, shut themselves up in the Vatican to elect a new pope. On the day following that on which they had assembled they unanimously elected Nicholas Boccasini, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia. Nicholas was a native of Tervisia, in Lombardy, and was, according to one account, the son of a notary. At the age of fourteen he had entered the Dominican order, and afterwards acted as tutor in a Venetian family. He rose to be General of the Dominicans.

In 1298 he was made Cardinal-bishop of Ostia by Pope Boniface VIII, and was by him sent on an important embassy to Hungary, to mediate concerning peace for that country, which was then distracted by civil war. Nicholas had loyally supported Boniface VIII against his enemies, and remained by his side at Anagni after he had been deserted by nearly all his

followers. The pope-elect was consecrated in St. Peter's on 27th October 1303, and took the name of Benedict XI.

Philip IV of France sent three ambassadors to the new Pope with a friendly letter and congratulations, in which he professed his obedience to the Roman see. Benedict wisely realized the futility of continuing the struggle with France, and replied by releasing Philip from the censures of Boniface VIII. He also absolved from excommunication all those who had been concerned in the quarrel with Boniface, except William de Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna. The plunderers of the papal treasury at Anagni were summoned to appear for trial.

The animosity of Philip of France for Boniface VIII caused him to urge the summoning of a general council to pronounce judgement against the deceased Pope. Ambassadors were sent by Philip to the cardinals in Rome, pressing them to join him in convening a council. The majority, however, supported Pope Benedict in refusing to do so.

Philip's conduct roused the anger of Benedict, who, on 7th June 1304, issued a bull condemning by name fifteen persons, who had been concerned in the conspiracy against Boniface. Among these were included Sciarra Colonna and William de Nogaret. (*Vide* Potthast, "Regesta," vol. ii, p. 2037.) The Pope summoned these persons to appear before him for trial, but before the date fixed for their appearance he was dead.

Benedict had retired to Perugia, where he died on 7th July 1304, after a pontificate of a little more than eight months. Rumour declared that he was poisoned. It is more probable, however, that he succumbed to dysentery, a disorder prevalent at that season of the year. He was buried before the altar in the church of the Dominicans, at Perugia. Pope Benedict XI is described as a prelate of great prudence, moderation, and ability, whose chief desire was to bring about a restoration of peace after the stormy pontificate of his predecessor.

CXCIV. CLEMENT V, A.D. 1305-1314

King of the Romans: ALBERT of Austria, 1298-1308
Emperor: HENRY VII of Luxemburg, 1308-1313

IN July 1304 the cardinals assembled at Perugia for the election of a new pope, but found themselves divided into an Italian and a French faction. The former desired an Italian and the latter a French pope, and ten months elapsed while

they continued to dispute. The people of Perugia, irritated by the delay, at length threatened to resort to violence if a pope were not speedily chosen. It was then proposed that the Italian cardinals should choose three French prelates, and that the others should pledge themselves to elect one of the three within forty days. One of the three nominated was Bernard de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux.

Philip IV, King of France, on hearing of the probable election of the Archbishop, is said to have written inviting him to a private interview in a forest belonging to the monastery of St. Jean d'Angely. At this interview the King told Bernard that provided he would agree to six conditions he would be chosen pope. These conditions were: 1. That he would grant Philip full absolution for censures incurred during the quarrel with Boniface VIII. 2. That all other persons involved in the quarrel with Boniface should also be absolved. 3. That a grant of one-tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues should be given to the King of France for five years. 4. That the memory of Boniface should be condemned. 5. That the two Colonna cardinals should be restored to their former dignity. 6. A secret condition which was afterwards to be revealed.

Historians differ as to the nature of the sixth condition, which was never actually made known, but it is generally supposed to have involved the papal consent to the suppression of the order of the Knights Templars (*vide infra*). Bernard, who was extremely ambitious, is said to have agreed without hesitation to these conditions. A message was then sent by Philip to the cardinals, who, on 5th June 1305, unanimously elected Bernard as pope. Catholic writers maintain that this account of the interview between Philip and the Archbishop in the forest of Angely is unfounded, and that the story was invented by the party hostile to the French.

Bernard was the son of Berald, a knight of Aquitaine, and lord of Villandreau, in the diocese of Bordeaux. He was a subject of the King of England, and had been translated from the bishopric of Comminges to the Archbishopric of Bordeaux by Boniface VIII. The new pope, who took the name of Clement V, invited the cardinals to assemble at Lyons for his consecration, which took place in the church of St. Justus in that city on 14th November 1305. Philip of France, his brother Charles of Valois, and the Dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, and Lorraine were present at the ceremony. While the procession was returning from the church a ruined wall sud-

denly gave way, burying a number of people in the *débris*. A brother of the Pope and twelve others were killed on the spot. The Duke of Brittany was so severely injured that he died a few days later, and Charles of Valois was much hurt, but recovered. Pope Clement was thrown from his horse, and the papal crown falling off, a carbuncle of great value was lost. (*Cf.* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 473.)

Shortly after his consecration Clement V elected ten new cardinals, of whom nine were French and one English. Whether or not there was any truth in the story of the compact made in the forest of d'Angely, it is certain that Clement granted King Philip full absolution, reinstated the Colonna cardinals in their dignity, and even absolved William of Nogaret and all his accomplices. William was commanded by the Pope to show his repentance by making an expedition to the East against the Saracens. Clement also granted to Philip one-tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues for five years. The Pope refused, however, to condemn the memory of Boniface, declaring that only a general council could give authority for the condemnation of a pope. It was accordingly agreed that a council should meet at Vienne, in Dauphiny, to decide the matter.

After his consecration at Lyons, Pope Clement V went to Bordeaux, where he remained until the following year, when he removed to Poitiers. In 1309, to the dismay of the Roman cardinals, Clement decided to fix the papal court at Avignon, which belonged to the King of Naples as Count of Provence, and which was also imperial territory. There the papal court was now to remain for more than seventy years, a period known in the history of the papacy as the Babylonish Captivity.

In 1308 Albert of Hapsburg, King of the Romans, was murdered, and Philip of France desired the Pope to use his influence to bring about the election of Philip of Valois as Albert's successor. Clement, however, did not wish to see the French power paramount in Europe, and secretly rejoiced when the German electors chose Henry VII of Luxemburg. Henry was crowned King of the Romans on 6th January 1309. In 1312 Henry went to Rome to receive the imperial crown. As the Guelfs held the Leonine city with St. Peter's and the Vatican, Henry was crowned in the Lateran church by five cardinals. The Emperor remained in Italy during the next year to conduct a campaign against the Guelfs and the King of Naples, but was taken ill with fever and died on 24th August

1313. In 1309 Charles II of Naples died, and was succeeded by his second son Robert, whom Pope Clement invested as King of Naples at Avignon in August of the same year.

The General Council summoned by Pope Clement V and Philip IV of France met at Vienne in October 1311. The number of prelates present has been variously estimated from one hundred to three hundred and forty. The business of the Council was to promote a crusade to the Holy Land, to restore discipline to the church, to determine the case of the Knights Templars, and to confirm final judgement on the arraignment of Boniface VIII.

Serious charges of immorality and of sacrilege had been brought against the Knights Templars, a military order founded in 1118 for the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Land. The knights enrolled in the order took the usual monastic vows, and in course of time had acquired vast wealth, and were looked upon as the best soldiers in Europe. Many writers attribute the charges brought against the order to the avarice of Philip of France, who desired to seize their wealth. Philip had caused the Templars in France to be seized and imprisoned, and under torture many had confessed to the horrible charges brought against them. Others had steadfastly maintained the innocence of the order, and had died on the rack. The Council of Vienne decided to suppress the order of the Templars, and the whole of their possessions were confiscated and variously distributed, part of their wealth being bestowed on the Knights of St. John, another military order.

Previous to the meeting of the Council of Vienne, the case of Boniface VIII (*vide* p. 341), had been heard before Pope Clement V in a consistory at Avignon. Philip had been summoned to appear as prosecutor, but had refused. William de Nogaret and one other enemy of the late Pope, named William De Plasian, alone appeared against him. The memory of Boniface was ably defended by two of his nephews, who appeared for the defence, and the trial ended in the acquittal of the dead Pope. It was declared that he had died in the Catholic faith, but his acts against France were annulled. The Council of Vienne confirmed this judgement, at the same time vindicating Philip from censure for the part he had played.

Pope Clement released Edward I from the promises he had made in 1297 and 1300 to keep the Magna Carta, but there is no evidence that Edward availed himself of this absolution. Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, had offended

King Edward by supporting the English clergy in their refusal to pay taxes. The King afterwards charged the Archbishop with conspiring against him with the barons, and persuaded Pope Clement to depose Winchelsey from the see of Canterbury. He was, however, reinstated in the next pontificate. (*Cf.* Collier's "Eccles. Hist. of Great Britain," vol. ii, pp. 593-595.) On 18th June 1306 the Pope issued a bull empowering the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle to excommunicate Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, and his adherents. Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, and Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, were deposed from their sees for having crowned Bruce at Scone. Clement V thus supported the claim of Edward I to lordship over Scotland.

Being in weak health, Pope Clement V determined to go to Bordeaux for change of air, but he died on the way at Roquemaure, in the diocese of Nismes, on 20th April 1314. His body was taken to Carpentras, where it remained for a year, and was then conveyed to the village of Uzesta in Gascony, and buried, as he had desired, in the church of the Blessed Virgin, which he had there caused to be built. The tomb was violated by the Calvinists in 1577.

Pope Clement V compiled a collection of papal decretals known as the "Clementinae," which was published after his death.

CXCV. JOHN XXII, A.D. 1316-1334

(NICHOLAS V, ANTIPOPE, 1328-1330)

Rival Kings of the Romans: LOUIS of Bavaria and FREDERICK of Hapsburg, 1314-1322
Emperor: LOUIS of Bavaria, 1328-1347

THE cardinals, twenty-three in number, of whom only six were Italians assembled at Carpentras in April 1314 for the election of a new pope. The Italians refused to consent to the election of any prelate who would not undertake to restore the papacy to Rome, while the Frenchmen desired to retain it in France. Accordingly several months passed without their coming to any decision. In August 1314 the nephews of the late Pope Clement V, and a number of Gascons, set fire to the episcopal palace at Carpentras, and the cardinals with difficulty escaped with their lives. This forced them to separate, and the papal election was indefinitely postponed.

Philip IV of France had meanwhile died, but his sons,

Louis and Philip, used their influence to promote the election of another French pope. At length the cardinals were persuaded to assemble again at Lyons, and in August 1316, after a vacancy of two years and three months in the Roman see, they chose Jacques d'Euse, a native of Cahors, the son of a shoemaker named Arnald. Jacques was very small in stature, and is said by some writers to have been deformed, had a pale complexion, and a shrill voice. He was very learned both in civil and canon law, and having been chancellor to the King of Naples, was by his influence made first Bishop of Fréjus, and afterwards of Avignon. By Pope Clement V he had been made Cardinal-bishop of Portus or Ostia, which position he held at the time of his elevation to the papacy. His consecration took place at Lyons on 5th September 1316, when he took the name of John XXII. It is said that in order to please the Italian cardinals, he took an oath never to mount a horse except to go to Rome. After his consecration he accordingly went by boat to Avignon, where he remained during the eighteen years of his pontificate.

After the death of the Emperor Henry VII, a double election took place in Germany, certain of the electors choosing Louis of Bavaria, and the others Frederick of Austria. War broke out between them, and continued for some years, until in 1322, at the battle of Mühldorf, Louis defeated Frederick and took him prisoner.

Meantime, as the imperial throne was vacant, Pope John XXII, following the example of his predecessors, appointed Robert, King of Naples, imperial vicar for Italy. Louis of Bavaria, however, insisted on appointing a vicar of his own choice, and a quarrel consequently arose between him and the Pope. The latter wrote to Louis declaring that he had usurped the title of King of the Romans without the papal sanction. Louis replied haughtily, and having afterwards refused to appear in answer to the papal summons, was excommunicated by the Pope.

The Franciscans took the part of Louis, and several eminent members of that order attacked the papal claims in their writings. Pope John XXII had incensed the strict spirituals among the Franciscans by condemning as heresy the doctrine that Christ had no possessions individually or in common with His disciples. Several monks were put to death during this pontificate for holding that belief concerning the poverty of Christ, which John XXII condemned as heresy. Many Fran-

ciscans in turn declared Pope John a heretic for denying the poverty of Christ.

Michael de Cesena, the General of the Franciscans, who had at first supported the Pope, turned against him, and wrote a treatise in which he appealed from the Pope to a General Council. William of Ockham, the English Franciscan, also wrote in defence of Louis. He declared that Christ and not the Pope is the Head of the Church, and that Scripture alone is infallible. Another celebrated work published at this time was the "Defensor Pacis," of Marsilius of Padua, dedicated to Louis, King of the Romans. Marsilius denied the temporal authority of the Pope, and declared that the Church does not consist only of the clergy, but of all Christians; that priests have no right to punish heresy, every man being responsible to God alone; that it is doubtful whether St. Peter was ever Bishop of Rome at all, and that Rome owes its pre-eminence to its being the imperial city; that all secular jurisdiction and all temporal property belong to the Emperor. So closely did the doctrines taught by these writers resemble those of the reformers of the sixteenth century, that this schism has been called "the Miniature Reformation."

In March 1327 Louis set out for Italy with an army, and was crowned King of Lombardy at Milan on Whit Sunday. The Roman people had meanwhile invited Pope John XXII to come to Rome, and on his refusal had set up a popular government hostile to the papacy. This opened the way for the reception in Rome of Louis, who was under the papal ban. The Roman people claimed the right of bestowing on Louis the imperial crown, and he was crowned in St. Peter's by Sciarra Colonna on 17th January 1328. On hearing of this Pope John confirmed the sentence of excommunication against the Emperor.

In April 1328 the Emperor summoned a Parliament in Rome and declared Pope John XXII to be deposed for heresy. The Franciscans who were present supported the Emperor, and charged John with heresy and simony. In the following May the Emperor chose an antipope in the person of Peter Rainalucci, a Franciscan friar from the convent of Sta. Maria in Ara Coeli. He was consecrated by the Bishop of Venice, and took the name of Nicholas V. Robert of Naples, however, still retained the chief power in Italy, and as the fickle Romans soon withdrew their support from Louis, he was obliged to leave Rome, taking the antipope with him.

In 1329 Louis returned to Germany, leaving the antipope at Pisa. Nicholas, abandoned by all, was soon forced to make his submission to the Pope. At Avignon Nicholas threw himself at the Pope's feet weeping, a cord round his neck, and humbly begged forgiveness. John XXII absolved him, but retained him as a prisoner at Avignon, where he died three years later. After the submission of Nicholas, a reaction took place in favour of John XXII, and many took his side against the Emperor Louis, who vainly attempted to effect a reconciliation with the Pope.

In 1330 John, King of Bohemia, made an expedition to Italy, and the Pope is said to have secretly intrigued with him against the Emperor. Many imperial cities surrendered to King John, but a league was afterwards formed against him by Florence and other northern towns, and in 1333 he returned to Bohemia.

Towards the close of John's pontificate another charge of heresy was brought against him. The Pope had written a book, in which he declared that the saints did not enjoy the beatific vision of God until after the final Judgement. As this doctrine did away with the efficacy of prayers offered to the saints, it aroused much indignant controversy, and the Pope was again accused of heresy. John, however, recanted this doctrine before his death, and declared that he never meant to teach anything contrary to Scripture or the rule of faith. He died on 4th December 1334 at the age of nearly ninety, and was buried in the cathedral of Avignon. In 1759, when his tomb was transferred to another part of the cathedral, his coffin was opened, and the body, only five feet long, was found intact. The gloved hands were crossed on the breast, and on one finger was a ring with a large blue stone. The body was clothed in a tunic of violet silk with a cope and pallium, and on the head was a small white mitre. Pope John XXII is said to have been the first to introduce the system of annates, by which the first year's revenues of all newly-elected bishops were given to the Pope.

CXCVI. BENEDICT XII, A.D. 1334-1342

Emperor: Louis IV of Bavaria, 1328-1347

ON 20th December 1334 Jacques Fournier, a native of Saverdun in Languedoc, said to have been the son of a miller, was chosen pope by the cardinals assembled at Avignon.

He had become a Cistercian monk at an early age, and had afterwards studied theology at the University of Paris. He had then been made successively abbot of Fontfroide, in the diocese of Narbonne, Bishop of Pamiers, and Bishop of Mirepoix. In 1327 he was created Cardinal-priest of St. Prisca, which position he held at the time of his elevation to the papacy. At his consecration, which took place on 5th January 1335 in the church of the Dominicans at Avignon, he took the name of Benedict XII.

Benedict is said to have been very tall, to have had a florid complexion, and a deep voice. He seems to have been a wise and just prelate, but was lacking in courage. It was the earnest desire of Benedict XII to promote peace in Italy, and in the Church. One of his first acts was to preach a sermon in which he repudiated the doctrine of John XXII, that the saints do not enjoy the beatific vision of God until after the general Resurrection. In the following year he also issued a bull condemning this doctrine. Benedict abolished pluralities, *i.e.*, the holding of several benefices by one prelate, and refused to give way to nepotism. He caused 100,000 florins out of the wealth left by his predecessor to be distributed among the cardinals, and sent 50,000 florins to Rome to be spent in repairing the Roman churches which had fallen into decay.

The city of Rome, deserted by the popes, meantime fell into a state of anarchy, and was in danger of losing all its ancient prestige. In 1337 the Romans appointed Pope Benedict Senator of the republic for life, and sent an urgent message inviting him to return to Rome. It is probable that Benedict would have accepted the invitation, but King Philip VI used all his influence to retain the papacy in France. As a compromise, Benedict proposed to transfer the papal court to Bologna, but the inhabitants of that city refused to receive him. Benedict was thus forced to remain in Avignon, and caused a magnificent new papal palace to be erected there. The celebrated poet Petrarch, who lived at this time, addressed to Pope Benedict a poetic epistle, urging him to return to Rome, and afterwards deeply resented his refusal to do so.

The Emperor Louis now desired to be reconciled with the Apostolic see, and to be released from the sentence of excommunication pronounced against him by John XXII (*vide* p. 346). Six different imperial embassies are said to have visited Avignon during this pontificate to treat with the Pope. Louis offered to make the most humiliating concessions as conditions of his

absolution, promising to annul all his acts passed while in Italy, and to submit himself entirely to the judgement of the Pope.

Philip VI of France, however, strongly opposed himself to a reconciliation between the Empire and the papacy, and is said to have threatened Benedict with deposition if he absolved Louis. The latter then made an alliance with Edward III of England against Philip of France, and the German princes also sided with the Emperor, expressing great indignation against the Pope. Louis, however, soon broke off his alliance with England, hoping thus to propitiate the Pope, who, under the influence of the French King, was forced to impose impossible terms as conditions of the absolution.

Benedict was attempting to negotiate terms of peace between the Kings of France and England, when he was taken seriously ill. He had long suffered from dropsy in the legs, and a certain new remedy tried by the physicians to stop the accumulation of water is said to have caused his death. He died on 25th April 1342, and was buried in the cathedral of Avignon, in a chapel which had been specially built to receive his remains.

CXCVII. CLEMENT VI, A.D 1342-1352

Emperor: LOUIS IV of Bavaria, 1328-1347
King of the Romans: CHARLES of Bohemia, 1347-1378

ON 7th May 1342 the seventeen cardinals, of which the Sacred College was then composed, assembled at Avignon, and unanimously elected as pope Peter Roger, Cardinal-priest of SS. Nereus and Achilleus. He was the son of William Roger, lord of Rosière, and was born about the year 1291 in the Castle of Maumont in the diocese of Limoges. At the age of ten he entered the Benedictine monastery of Chaise-Dieu in Auvergne. Later he studied in Paris, where he obtained the degree of doctor of divinity. By Pope John XXII he was made successively prior of the monastery of St. Baudille of Nismes, abbot of Fécamp in Normandy, and Bishop of Arras. He afterwards acted as Chancellor and Keeper of the Royal Seals to Philip VI of France, was made Bishop of Sens in 1330, and Cardinal-priest of SS. Nereus and Achilleus by Benedict XII in 1338.

His coronation took place in the church of the Dominicans in Avignon on Whit Sunday, 19th May 1342, when he took

the name of Clement VI. The Dukes of Normandy, Bourbon, Burgundy, and the Dauphin of Vienne, with many of the chief nobility of France, were present at the ceremony. The Duke of Normandy, heir to the French crown, held the Pope's stirrup and acted as his groom.

Clement VI entirely reversed the policy of his predecessor by granting benefices and favours with a lavish hand, especially to his own relatives. One of his nephews was made notary of the Apostolic see, and cardinal at the age of eighteen. The Pope invited needy clergy to come to the papal court to partake of his bounty, and thousands of applicants are said to have presented themselves. During this pontificate the papal court and retinue rivalled in splendour that of any European sovereign. Luxury and extravagance of all kinds were indulged in by the clergy, whose morals became very lax.

A deputation of eighteen Romans, six from each rank, among whom were the poet Petrarch and Cola di Rienzi, afterwards the famous Tribune, visited Avignon during this pontificate in order to invite the Pope to go to Rome. Clement is said to have promised that he would comply with their wishes, and he also granted that the Jubilee instituted by Pope Boniface VIII should be held every fifty years instead of every century.

Pope Clement confirmed the bull of his predecessor against the Emperor Louis, and excommunicated the Archbishop of Mainz, who had espoused the Emperor's cause. Louis now earnestly desired to make peace with the Pope, but seems to have vacillated between an attitude of extreme haughtiness and one of abject humility. As the conditions of absolution, Clement required that Louis should acknowledge the Empire to be the gift of the Apostolic see, that he should annul his acts as Emperor, and surrender his whole power to the Pope. The German princes heard these conditions with the utmost indignation, and compelled the Emperor to reject them.

In April 1346 Pope Clement issued a new bull of excommunication against the unfortunate Emperor, whom he anathematized in awful terms. Clement then advised the electors to proceed to a new election, and Charles of Moravia, son of the blind King of Bohemia, and grandson of Henry VII of Luxemburg, was elected King of the Romans.

At the battle of Crecy, in August 1346, Charles fought along with his father on the French side. The old blind King fell nobly in the battle, but his son was among the first to seek

refuge in flight. The cowardice of Charles caused many to forsake his side and to support Louis, but the latter died in October 1347.

In January 1343 Robert, King of Naples, died, and was succeeded by his granddaughter Joan, who married Andrew, son of the King of Hungary. In September 1345 Andrew was murdered and Joan was suspected of being implicated in the crime. The King of Hungary proceeded with an army to Naples to avenge the death of his son, and Joan fled to the protection of the Pope at Avignon. The Queen protested her innocence, and after being tried by a papal consistory was acquitted. The Pope then gave his consent to her marriage with Louis of Taranto. In order to raise money for the war against the King of Hungary Joan sold to the Pope the city of Avignon, which formed part of her kingdom of Provence, for the sum of 80,000 golden florins.

During this pontificate Cola di Rienzi, who is generally believed to have been a man of humble birth, acquired great power in Rome by his eloquence. He persuaded the Romans to elect him Tribune, and actually exercised the power of a sovereign. He claimed that the choice of an emperor belonged to the Roman people, whom he strove to exalt by crushing the nobility. In December 1347 Pope Clement issued a bull against Rienzi, charging him with attempting to overthrow the Church and the Empire. Rienzi had meantime lost his authority by practising the most extraordinary extravagances, and he was forced to abdicate. He retired to Apulia where he dwelt among the Franciscans for nearly three years, wearing their coarse gown, and living the rigid life of their order. In 1351 he left his retirement, and travelled in disguise to Prague, in order to persuade Charles, King of the Romans, to undertake an expedition to Italy to overthrow the papal power which had again been established in Rome. Pope Clement, hearing that Rienzi was in Prague, communicated with Charles, demanding that the enemy of the Apostolic see should be delivered up. Rienzi was accordingly sent a prisoner to Avignon, where he was tried by an ecclesiastical consistory. The trial was prolonged, and before the case was decided Pope Clement VI died.

In 1348 the pestilence known as the Black Death devastated Europe, and three-fourths of the population of Avignon are said to have died. Although many of the regular clergy forsook their flocks, the Franciscans devoted themselves to the care of the plague-stricken. In many places the Jews, who

were believed to be the cause of the pestilence, were massacred. Clement, however, espoused their cause, and issued bulls for their protection, inviting them to take refuge in the states of the Church.

In 1351 the English Parliament passed the Statute of Provisors, by which the King reserved to himself the right to appoint to vacant benefices, and denied the Pope's claim to fill them with foreign prelates.

Pope Clement VI died of fever on 1st December 1352. He was buried in the church of St. Mary at Avignon, but in accordance with his last will his remains were conveyed in the following year to the monastery of Chaise-Dieu, in Auvergne, where he had made his first profession as a monk, and were there buried. His tomb, which was in the monks' choir, was violated by the Calvinists in 1562.

CXCVIII. INNOCENT VI, 1352-1362

Emperor: CHARLES IV of Bohemia, 1347-1378

STEPHEN AUBERT, a native of Mont, near Pompadour, in the diocese of Limoges in France was elected pope by the cardinals assembled at Avignon on 18th December 1352. Stephen was a distinguished canon lawyer, had been successively Bishop of Noyon and of Clermont, and at the time of his elevation to the papacy was Cardinal-bishop of Ostia.

His consecration took place at Avignon on 30th December, when he took the name of Innocent VI. At the conclave the cardinals are said to have taken an oath that whoever was elected would divide his wealth with the Cardinals and exercise no authority without the consent of the Sacred College; but Innocent annulled this law immediately after his election, as being derogatory to the papal dignity.

Innocent VI proved to be the most prudent and just of the Avignonese pontiffs, and, owing to his strong rule, his pontificate was on the whole tranquil. He refused to countenance pluralities, and abolished from the papal court many abuses which had grown up under his predecessor. He ordered many idle prelates who had been living in luxury at Avignon to return to their respective sees on pain of excommunication, and introduced more temperate living at the papal court, setting the example of abstemiousness himself.

In 1355 Charles, King of the Romans, went to Rome with

Pope Innocent's approval, and was crowned Emperor by the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia. In accordance with a promise made to the Pope not to interfere in any way with the papal government in Italy, Charles withdrew from Rome immediately after his coronation, in spite of the protests of the Roman people. In the following year Charles issued the decree known as the "Golden Bull," which attached the electoral power to certain hereditary fiefs. The sanction of the Pope was ignored, though not expressly denied, in the decree. (*Vide* F. Henderson, "Hist. Documents of the Middle Ages," pp. 220-261.)

Pope Innocent VI appointed Cardinal Aegidius Albornez, Archbishop of Toledo, as papal vicar for Italy, and sent him to reduce the rebellious cities which had thrown off the papal control. The cardinal belonged to a noble family of Castile, and had served with distinction in the wars against the Moors. Cola di Rienzi was now released from prison (*vide* Clement VI, p. 352), and as his influence was known to be great with the Roman people, he was permitted to accompany Cardinal Albornez to Italy. With the approval of Albornez, Rienzi was appointed Senator of Rome, and now ruled in the papal interests. He had not, however, gained in wisdom during his long exile, for he now lived a life of luxury, and imposed heavy taxes on the Roman people, which soon caused them to rebel against him. In 1354 he was put to death during a popular insurrection.

Cardinal Albornez, by his great ability and indefatigable zeal, was very successful in restoring the papal power in Italy. In four years he succeeded in bringing back all the papal cities to obedience to the Pope.

During this pontificate Avignon was attacked by bands of freebooters, who had for some time been ravaging France. Pope Innocent VI was obliged to buy them off with a large sum of money. After their departure he caused the fortifications of Avignon to be completed and strengthened, so as to prevent such attacks in future. As France was weak, owing to the long wars with England, it could no longer protect the popes in Avignon, and at the time of his death Innocent was contemplating the restoration of the papacy to Rome.

He died on 12th September 1362, and was buried in the Carthusian monastery of Villeneuve on the Rhone, where his tomb may still be seen.

CXCIX. URBAN V, A.D. 1362-1370

Emperor: CHARLES IV of Bohemia, 1347-1378

IN October 1362 the cardinals, who were assembled at Avignon, chose as pope, William Grimoard, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Victor at Marseilles, the son of William Grimoard, lord of Grisac, in Languedoc. William was a prelate of unblemished character, and had studied civil and canon law, and afterwards taught both at Avignon. At the time of his election he was at Naples, whither he had been sent as legate by the late Pope. He was consecrated on 6th November 1362, and took the name of Urban V. His monastic training caused him to repress luxury at the papal court. With the exception of his brother Angelicus Grimoard, whom he made Bishop of Avignon, he refused to advance any of his kindred. During the first year of his pontificate Urban was visited in Avignon by the kings of France, Denmark and Cyprus, who arrived at different times, with their retinues. The Pope persuaded the kings of France and Denmark to take the cross, but owing to the death of the former in the following year, the projected expedition did not take place.

In November 1362 Urban V issued a bull against Bernabo Visconti, lord of Milan, who had seized estates belonging to the Church, had denied the Pope's right to present to bishoprics or abbeys, and had tortured and put to death certain monks and priests. Bernabo failed to comply with the Pope's summons to appear at Avignon, and in the following year (1363) Urban caused a crusade to be preached against him, and Indulgences were granted to those who engaged in it. The French king, whose daughter Bernabo had married, at length intervened on behalf of his son-in-law, and on Bernabo's promising to renounce his claim to the city of Bologna, a claim which was in reality groundless, peace was concluded in 1369.

Although Cardinal Albornez had restored the papal states to obedience, Italy was becoming more and more alienated from the Avignonese pontiffs, who were looked upon as foreigners. Rome had, moreover, lost considerably in wealth and prestige from the absence of the popes. A deputation from the Romans waited on Urban to entreat him to come to Rome, and it soon became known that he intended to comply with the request. The cardinals, most of whom were French, and who looked on

Italy as a place of exile, expressed the utmost dismay on learning his intentions. They dreaded the unhealthy climate, the food, and the turbulent Romans, and besought the Pope to abandon his project. But Urban wisely saw that the power of the French king had been so much weakened by the long wars that the position of the papacy at Avignon was no longer secure, and he also feared the loss of all authority in Italy. In spite of the dark forebodings of the cardinals, of whom, according to some accounts, only five could be induced to accompany him, the courageous old Pope embarked at Marseilles in April 1367. A fleet of twenty-three vessels sent by the Genoese, Venetians, Pisans, and Queen Joan of Naples, accompanied him on his voyage to Genoa, where he was received with much honour by the Doge of that city. From Genoa Urban sailed to Corneto, a city belonging to the Apostolic see, about fifty miles from Viterbo. There he was met by a deputation from the Roman people, bringing him the keys of the Castle of St. Angelo. On 16th October 1367 Urban made his public entry into Rome, before the wondering gaze of multitudes of eager spectators. For nearly sixty-five years no pope had been seen in the Eternal City, and only the aged among the spectators could recall the memory of Benedict XI. The Pope rode on a white mule, and was attended in the procession by about four thousand cavalry, a great number of infantry, and over two thousand bishops, abbots and clergy of all ranks.

For the three years that Urban remained in Italy, he resided during the winter months in the Vatican, retiring in the summer to Montefiascone or to Viterbo. His first care was to undertake the rebuilding of the Roman churches, which had fallen into decay during the long absence of the popes from Rome. He also added magnificent gardens to the Vatican, provided the churches with new chalices, and caused new jewelled cases to be constructed to contain the holy relics and heads of St. Peter and St. Paul.

In October 1368 the Emperor Charles IV visited the Pope in Viterbo, and was received with much honour. He afterwards proceeded to Rome, where he met the Pope and accompanied him humbly on foot to St. Peter's, leading his mule by the rein.

In the following year, John Palaeologus, the Greek Emperor, also visited Rome, in order to seek help from Pope Urban against the Turks. He solemnly declared his faith to be that of the Roman Church, and acknowledged the supremacy of the

Pope over all bishops, a profession which was repeated by the Greek Emperors as often as they required help from the West. Pope Urban then endeavoured to form an alliance in his favour among the western princes, but without success.

After keeping the Easter of 1370 in Rome, Pope Urban retired to Montefiascone, and from thence, soon afterwards, to Viterbo. While there he unexpectedly announced his intention of returning to Avignon on the plea that he desired to negotiate for peace between the kings of France and England. Some writers suppose that Urban, knowing himself to be in failing health, wished to die in his own country.

Leaving his brother Angelicus, Cardinal-bishop of Albano, and James, Bishop of Arezzo, as his vicars in Italy, he sailed from Corneto on 5th September 1350, attended by fleets sent by the King of France and the Queen of Naples. A countless multitude filled with the deepest sorrow and regret, witnessed the departure from the shore, and on them the aged pontiff bestowed his blessing from the deck. The fleet sailed from sight, leaving Italy once more deserted by the Pope.

On reaching Avignon, where he was received with great joy. Pope Urban sent messages to the kings of France and England, inviting them to an interview. Meantime, however, his illness increased, and he caused himself to be carried to the church of St. Peter, in Avignon. There, in front of the high altar, he died on 19th December 1370. He was buried in the cathedral of Avignon, but two years later his remains were translated to the church of St. Victor at Marseilles, where he had been abbot. His tomb, a graceful work of art of that time was sacrificed during some alterations in the church. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, p. 494, *note.*) It is recorded of Pope Urban V that he encouraged learning, and during his pontificate he maintained at his own expense, and supplied with books, a thousand poor students at the universities.

CC. GREGORY XI, A.D. 1370-1378

Emperor: CHARLES IV of Bohemia, 1347-1378

ON 29th December 1370 the conclave met at Avignon for the election of a new pope, and on the following day chose Peter Roger de Beaufort, the nephew of Clement VI. Peter was the son of William Roger, and was born in the Castle of Maumont in the diocese of Limoges. When scarcely

eighteen years old he had been created a cardinal by his uncle Pope Clement VI, and had won the esteem of all by his blameless life, and his devotion to study, by means of which he became one of the most learned of the theologians and canonists of his time. At the time of his elevation to the papacy he was cardinal-deacon of S. Maria Novella. His consecration took place on 5th January 1371, when he took the name of Gregory XI.

Like his predecessor, Gregory desired to bring about a reconciliation between the kings of France and England, but his offers to act as mediator were rejected by both kings. Bernabo Visconti, Duke of Milan, again rebelled against the papal authority, and seized territory belonging to the Church. (*Vide ante*, p. 355.) Gregory excommunicated him, and in 1372 declared war against him, upon which Bernabo joined a league of Italian cities against the Pope.

Gregory, like his predecessors, made the mistake of appointing French legates to Italy, and although they were usually worthy and distinguished men, they were looked upon by the Italians as foreigners. In 1375 the Florentines rebelled against the temporal dominion of the Pope, and within a short time eighty cities, the Viscontis and Queen Joan of Naples, joined them in a league to resist the papal authority. In March 1376 Pope Gregory excommunicated and outlawed the Florentines, and placed the city under an interdict. He also despatched to Italy Cardinal Robert of Geneva, with a large body of troops composed chiefly of hired freebooters. Although they achieved little success, their ravages further embittered the Italians against the Pope. The sack of Cesena and massacre of the inhabitants by order of Cardinal Robert in the following year filled everyone with horror.

The celebrated Catharine of Siena, a Dominican nun, the daughter of a wool-dyer, famous for her sanctity and prophetic visions, addressed a number of letters to Pope Gregory XI, in which she urged him in bold and impassioned language to return to Rome and to undertake the reformation of the clergy. Catharine visited the Pope at Avignon, having been sent thither, according to some accounts, by one of the parties in Florence. Gregory is said to have been much impressed by her eloquence.

Pope Gregory now realized that unless the papacy was restored to Rome the popes would lose all authority in Italy. Although oppressed by physical weakness, he accordingly de-

termined to set out for Rome. Leaving Avignon, he embarked with the Curia at Marseilles on 2nd October 1376, accompanied by a fleet composed of galleys from Naples, Provence, Genoa, Pisa, Ancona, and Spain. Six cardinals remained behind to act as his vicars in Avignon. The progress of the fleet was delayed by fearful storms, several ships were lost, and the Bishop of Lucca was drowned. These disasters seemed to the cardinals to be ominous of evil.

Pope Gregory reached Corneto on 5th December, and on disembarking was met by immense crowds of people who had come to welcome him. At Corneto he remained for some weeks, while arrangements were being made for his future government of Rome. The Florentines had endeavoured, but without success, to dissuade the Romans from receiving the Pope. In 1371 the senatorial power had been conferred on Gregory for life, and the full dominion of the city, with the Trastevere and Leonina and all the bridges and fortresses, was now made over to him.

Pope Gregory XI made his public entry into Rome on 17th January 1377, accompanied by a great procession of clergy, nobles, and troops of soldiers. The route along which he passed was decorated with coloured draperies, and the procession was accompanied by trumpeters, mountebanks, and horsemen in magnificent array. Catharine of Siena, who had accompanied the Pope from Avignon, entered Rome along with him. The arrival of Gregory XI in Rome signified the end of the Babylonish Captivity which had lasted for seventy-three years. Unfortunately, however, the arrival of the Pope did not put an end to hostilities, and his position in Rome soon became so insecure that in May 1377 he was obliged to withdraw to Anagni.

The Florentines, who suffered great loss through the interdict and outlawry to which they had been condemned, were still embittered against Gregory. The Pope sent Catharine of Siena to Florence to mediate for peace, but she seems to have aroused considerable animosity among the contending factions by interfering in political controversies. It is said that they threatened to burn her, and she escaped from Florence with difficulty. Gregory returned to Rome in November, and during the winter the city was comparatively tranquil. It was decided to hold a congress at Sarzana to settle the dispute with Florence. But while the negotiations were in progress Gregory became seriously ill, and died on 27th March 1378. He is said to have

foreseen that great disasters were in store for the Church, and at the time of his death was meditating a return to Avignon. Gregory XI was buried in the church of S. Maria Novella in Rome, where his tomb may still be seen. The present monument, which was raised by the Roman municipality, dates only from the year 1584. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 495, *note*.)

CCI. URBAN VI, A.D. 1378-1389

(CLEMENT VII, ANTIPOPE, 1378-1394)

King of the Romans: WENCESLAUS, 1378-1400

FOR the first time for seventy-five years the conclave met in the Vatican in April 1378 for the election of a new pope. Of the sixteen cardinals present, eleven were French, and these desired to elect a Frenchman and to return to Avignon. The Romans, however, determined to prevent this, and armed troops were sent to intimidate the conclave. The populace, in great excitement, also surrounded the Vatican shouting: "A Roman Pope! We will have a Roman Pope!" So great was the confusion and disorder that the terrified cardinals hastened to come to a decision. On 8th April they chose Bartolomeo Prignano, Archbishop of Bari, a native of Naples. He was a man of mean birth and of monastic training, known to be austere in his morals and learned in the canon law. He is said to have constantly worn a hair-cloth shirt next his skin. His coronation took place on 18th April, when he took the name of Urban VI. All the cardinals were present at the ceremony, and did homage to him as Pope, although they afterwards swore that they had been illegally forced into making this choice.

Unfortunately, Urban VI was possessed of an arbitrary and rough temperament, and while earnestly desiring to reform the clergy, the means he adopted were so harsh and offensive as to alienate all his supporters. He constantly affronted the cardinals by addressing them in abusive language, and by sneering in public at their wealth and luxury. Very shortly after his consecration, the Ultramontane cardinals began to intrigue against him, and Urban also made the fatal mistake of quarrelling with Queen Joan of Naples.

Joan had at first expressed great satisfaction on hearing that

one of her subjects had been elevated to the papal chair. In 1376 she had married a fourth husband, Otto of Brunswick, and hoped to secure for him the succession to the throne of Naples. This was, however, opposed by Pope Urban, who did not wish Naples to become a German possession, and Otto, who went to Rome to offer his congratulations to the Pope, was received with scant ceremony. Shortly afterwards Joan heard with indignation that Pope Urban was scheming to place Charles of Durazzo, a descendant of the race of Anjou and nephew of the King of Hungary, on the throne of Naples.

The Count of Fondi, a powerful noble and vassal of the Queen of Naples, asked Urban for the return of 12,000 florins, which had been lent by him to Pope Gregory XI. Urban declared that the debt was a personal one, and refused to pay it. A quarrel thus arose between them, and the Count joined the cardinals against the Pope.

In May 1378 the Ultramontane cardinals were permitted by Urban to leave Rome for Anagni on account of the heat, and the Pope soon afterwards retired to Tivoli. On 9th August, the thirteen cardinals at Anagni published a manifesto, declaring that Urban's election was uncanonical, having been made under compulsion, and that the papal chair was consequently vacant. With the permission of the Queen of Naples the schismatic cardinals afterwards went to Fondi, where, on 20th September, they elected as Pope, Cardinal Robert of Geneva, Bishop of Cambray, who took the name of Clement VII. He was the son of Count Amadeus of Savoy, and was related to several of the princely houses of Europe. At the time of his election as rival pope he was only thirty-six years of age.

Urban VI returned to Rome, but soon found himself deserted by the remaining cardinals. He was accordingly forced to create twenty-six new cardinals in one day. War now broke out between the rival popes, and mercenary troops were engaged to fight on each side. In Rome, Pope Urban gained an advantage, and Clement was forced to retire to Naples to seek the protection of Queen Joan. There, however, his position soon became unsafe, and he set out for France. In June 1379 he established himself at Avignon, with the consent and support of King Charles V of France. Clement was recognized as Pope by France, Spain, Scotland, Naples, Rhodes, and Cyprus; while Italy, Germany, England, Portugal, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and Norway recognized Urban.

In April 1380 Pope Urban VI declared the Queen of Naples

to be deposed, and in the following year he crowned Charles of Durazzo King of Naples, in St. Peter's in Rome. On the advice of Clement VII, Queen Joan adopted Louis of Anjou, brother of King Charles V of France, as her heir. Louis afterwards went to Avignon to receive investiture of his kingdom, and was crowned King of Naples by Clement VII. After his coronation in Rome, Charles of Durazzo proceeded against Naples with an army, Louis of Anjou being meanwhile detained in France by the death of Charles V. Charles besieged the Queen in Naples and took her prisoner. On hearing that Louis of Anjou was approaching with a strong force to rescue her, Charles caused the unfortunate Queen to be strangled.

As a condition of receiving Urban's support, Charles had promised to grant Capua, Nocera, Amalfi, and other places to Butillo Prignano, the Pope's nephew, a vicious and unprincipled man. Charles, however, refused to keep his promise, and in 1383 Pope Urban undertook an expedition against him. A reconciliation took place, however, between the Pope and Charles, and the former retired to Nocera in June 1384. During his sojourn in Nocera Urban quarrelled with his cardinals, six of whom were accused of conspiring against his life. Urban caused them to be confined in a damp cistern, which was infested with vermin, and from the horrible cruelties which he perpetrated on them at this time there seems reason to suppose that he must have been partially insane.

Meantime the quarrel between Charles and the Pope was renewed, and Charles besieged the Pope in the Castle of Nocera. During the siege the Pope appeared daily on the castle walls, and with bell, book, and candle solemnly excommunicated the besiegers. Urban was reduced to great straits for want of provisions, but on 5th July 1385 he was relieved by Ramondello Orsini, Count of Nola, under whose escort he escaped from Nocera two days later. In his flight he took the captive cardinals with him. One of them, the Bishop of Aquila, who was suspected of attempting to escape, was put to death on the way, and his body was left unburied by the road-side. Near Trani they embarked on a Genoese fleet, and sailed first to Sicily, then to Genoa.

Soon after Urban's arrival at Genoa, five of the captive cardinals were put to death. According to one account they were put in sacks and thrown into the sea. Two other cardinals, who had not been imprisoned, escaped to Avignon, and joined Clement VII. From Genoa Urban went to Lucca,

where he remained nine months. Meantime his rival, Clement VII, ruled in Avignon, but was seriously embarrassed for want of money. As the Transalpine kingdoms contributed little to his support, nearly all the expenses of maintaining a separate papacy fell on France.

In February 1386 Charles of Durazzo, who had become heir to the crown of Hungary, was assassinated in that country. He left two children, a son and daughter, the former, Ladislaus, being then only ten years old. Louis of Anjou had died two years previously, and the antipope's party now supported the claims of the young son of Louis to the crown of Naples. Pope Urban VI was still determined to proceed against Naples, and raised troops for this purpose. But a fall from his horse, which occurred soon after he left Perugia with his troops, forced him to halt, and he was carried to Ferentino in a litter. There his troops, consisting chiefly of unpaid mercenaries, deserted him.

Urban returned to Rome in September 1388, where he was honourably received, and soon afterwards succeeded in crushing a revolt which had arisen against his authority. He then ruled without opposition in Rome until his death, which occurred on 15th October 1389. He was buried in the nave of St. Peter's. In September 1606 his sarcophagus was transferred to the crypt of the present church, where it may still be seen. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 506, *note.*)

CCII. BONIFACE IX, A.D. 1389-1404

(CLEMENT VII, 1378-1394, BENEDICT XIII, 1394-1415, ANTIPOPES)

King of the Romans: WENCESLAUS, 1378-1400; RUPERT of the Palatinate, 1400-1410

IT was hoped that the death of Urban VI would put an end to the schism. The Roman cardinals refused, however, to recognize Clement VII, as his recognition would have involved the re-establishment of the papal chair at Avignon, and on 2nd November 1389 Peter Tomacelli, Cardinal-priest of St. Anastasia, was chosen pope. He was a native of Naples, and belonged to a noble but impoverished family. His consecration took place on 11th November, when he took the name of Boniface IX.

Boniface was a prelate devoid of culture and extremely avaricious, but was endowed with much energy and natural shrewdness. Benefices and offices of all kinds were sold by him for money, and it is said that justice could only be obtained on payment of a fee. His mother, brothers, and nephews were even greedier of gain than himself. During this pontificate two jubilee festivals were held, one in 1390 and the other in 1400. The large crowds of pilgrims who visited Rome brought wealth to the city and to the Pope. By granting Indulgences for money to those who were unable to visit Rome during the years of jubilee, Boniface IX was able to gain many to his side. His position in Rome was, however, insecure, and he was repeatedly obliged to leave the city. Pope Boniface had espoused the cause of Ladislaus of Naples, who proved his faithful ally and supported him against the rebellious Romans. In 1392 Boniface retired to Perugia, where he remained for a year. During his sojourn there a revolution took place, and he withdrew to Assisi. The Romans then sent envoys inviting him to return to the city, and a treaty of peace was made between them and the Pope.

Boniface returned to Rome in December 1393, but a few months later trouble again arose, and his life was in considerable danger. The arrival of Ladislaus with an army saved the Pope and crushed the rebellion. Meantime Clement VII continued to rule in Avignon, and in November 1389 crowned Louis II of Anjou King of Naples, Charles VI of France being present at the ceremony.

The French had now become wearied of supporting a pope at their own expense, and in 1394 the University of Paris proposed three possible methods of ending the schism: 1. That both popes should resign, and a new one be elected. 2. That the matter should be settled by arbitration. 3. That a General Council should be held to decide which was the true pope. A deputation was sent to Clement at Avignon to urge him to agree to one of these methods. But Clement on receiving this message fell into a violent temper, and three days later succumbed to apoplexy. His death occurred on 16th September 1394.

The King of France and the University of Paris on hearing of Clement's death hastened to send letters to the cardinals at Avignon, urging them not to proceed to a new election. But before opening the King's letter they unanimously elected on 28th September Peter de Luna, Cardinal-deacon of Sta. Maria

in Cosmedin. Peter was descended from a noble family of Aragon, and was a prelate of considerable learning, but possessed of boundless ambition, craft, and cunning. At the commencement of the schism he had taken the side of Clement VII, by whom he had been sent as legate to Spain. While there he had been successful in gaining to the side of Clement the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. He was consecrated on 11th October 1394 by the Bishop of Ostia, and took the name of Benedict XIII. By taking an oath at his consecration to do his utmost to end the schism he gained the support of the French court and of the University of Paris.

In 1395 a royal council met in France, and the assembled bishops and nobles were unanimous in declaring that both popes ought to resign. A splendid embassy was sent to Avignon, consisting of three bishops, eight nobles, and the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Orleans to acquaint Benedict with the decision of the council. Benedict sought delay, and later he proposed that representatives from both popes should meet to confer together at some place under the protection of the King of France. This, however, was found to be impracticable.

In 1398 Charles VI of France, and Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, met at Rheims to confer concerning the schism. They agreed that both popes ought to resign. Another royal council met in France in the same year, when it was determined that the French should withdraw all support from Benedict XIII. Troops were sent to besiege him in Avignon, but though his cardinals deserted him and the city surrendered, Benedict shut himself up in the papal palace and prepared to endure a siege. He was, however, obliged to capitulate, and for the next five years (1398-1403) remained a prisoner in his palace at Avignon.

Charles VI of France, being subject to attacks of insanity, the government of his kingdom fell upon his uncles and brother, the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy, and Orleans. Quarrels arose between the dukes, and the Duke of Orleans espoused the cause of Benedict against his uncles. In March 1403 Benedict escaped from the palace of Avignon disguised as a domestic, and arrived safely at Château Raynaud, a fortress held by Louis II of Anjou, whom he had recognized as King of Naples. His escape was no sooner made known than a reaction took place in his favour, and the French cardinals hastened to join him. At an assembly held in Paris in the

following May Charles VI appeared, and acting under the influence of the Duke of Orleans, announced that France had returned to the obedience of Benedict.

In August 1400 Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, was deposed on account of his debauchery and incapacity, and in the following year Rupert, Count Palatine, was chosen to succeed him. In January 1400 two nobles of the family of Colonna raised a rebellion in Rome against Pope Boniface IX, but they received little support from the Romans. Boniface issued a bull of excommunication against the Colonna, and King Ladislaus of Naples joined the Pope in making war on them. In 1401 the Colonna made their submission to the Pope. During the last years of his pontificate Boniface IX was master in Rome and in the estates of the Church.

Benedict still expressed a desire to end the schism, and in September 1404 he sent his ambassadors to Rome to confer with Pope Boniface. Boniface received them haughtily, and in full consistory declared that their master was antipope. One of them indignantly retorted that at least he was not a simoniac. This so greatly enraged Boniface that he was seized with an attack of the stone, a malady to which he had long been subject, and died on 1st October 1404. He was buried in St. Peter's, not far from the tomb of Urban VI, in the same aisle. His tomb was entirely destroyed at the demolition of the church in the sixteenth century. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 507, *note*.)

CCIII. INNOCENT VII, A.D. 1404-1406

(BENEDICT XIII, ANTIPOPE, 1394-1415)

King of the Romans: RUPERT of the Palatinate, 1400-1410

ON 17th October 1404 the Italian cardinals elected as pope Cosmo Megliorotto, a native of Sulmona in Abruzzi, the son of humble parents. Cosmo, who took the name of Innocent VII, was already aged at the time of his elevation to the papacy. After graduating at Bologna he had taught jurisprudence at Perugia and Padua. By Urban VI he had been sent as collector of the papal taxes to England, where he remained ten years. On returning to Rome in 1386 he was made successively Bishop of Bologna, Archbishop of Ravenna, and Cardinal-priest of Sta. Croce in Gerusalemme.

Previous to his election he had taken a solemn oath along with the other cardinals that if elected he would willingly abdicate, provided the rival Pope Benedict XIII (*vide ante*, p. 365) did the same. He afterwards declared his intention of summoning a General Council to deal with the schism, but he was prevented from doing so by the disturbances which arose in Rome during his pontificate.

Almost immediately after the election of Innocent the Romans rebelled against his authority. King Ladislaus of Naples, who happened to be in the city, came to the help of the Pope, but made use of the situation to his own advantage, and seems to have aimed at making himself master of Rome and of the ecclesiastical territory. By his intervention a treaty was drawn up between the Pope and the Romans. By this treaty it was agreed that the Pope and the cardinals were to be exempt from taxes and from trial by the civic tribunal, and that the people were to issue no new laws on their own authority. Ladislaus was now to have a share in the choice of government officials, and he was made rector of the Campagna and the Maritima for five years. The Capitol was also made over to Ladislaus, who immediately restored it to the Roman people. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. vi, pt. 2, p. 570.) The King remained in Rome until 5th November, and the ceremony of Pope Innocent's consecration was postponed until after his departure. It took place in St. Peter's on 11th November. Another dispute soon arose between the Pope and the Romans, who continued to encroach on the papal authority, and during the following year Innocent's position in Rome became more and more difficult.

On 6th August 1405 a deputation from the people went to the Vatican and addressed the Pope in violent language. On their way home they were seized by Ludovico Megliorotto, the Pope's nephew, who was roused to indignation by this treatment of his uncle. Eleven of them were dragged into a house and murdered, and their bodies were afterwards thrown into the street. Although the Pope had had no share in this outrage, the people were determined to take vengeance on him, and he was obliged to flee from the city with the cardinals, taking his nephew with him. Innocent then took up his residence at Viterbo.

After the Pope's departure the greatest confusion reigned in Rome, where John Colonna attempted to rule with the authority of a pope. At the end of twenty-five days the Romans ap-

pealed for help to King Ladislaus, whose troops entered the city and began to sack the houses. The indignant Romans then turned against Ladislaus, and after much slaughter on both sides he was obliged to abandon his attempt to make himself master of Rome. The Romans then entrusted the government of the city to "Three good men," and a reaction took place in favour of the Pope.

A message was sent to Innocent begging him to return to Rome and to engage the papal troops against Ladislaus. The government of the city was again bestowed on the Pope, who appointed a senator of his own choice. On 13th March 1406 Innocent made his triumphant entry into Rome accompanied by his nephew. The papal troops besieged the Castle of St. Angelo, still held by the adherents of Ladislaus, but the castle did not surrender to the Pope until the following August. In June a treaty of peace was made between the Pope and Ladislaus, who was now released from the excommunication which had been pronounced against him, and was made Defender and Standard-bearer of the Church.

Pope Innocent VII was now master of Rome, and on 1st September 1406 he issued a bull restoring the University of Rome, which had fallen into decay, and commanding that the most competent professors of every science and of the Greek and Latin language and literature should be summoned to the city. This bull shows the Humanist tendency which was already manifest. Innocent was, however, prevented by death from carrying out his intentions in this respect. He died suddenly of apoplexy on 6th November 1406 after a pontificate of a little over two years, and was buried in the pontifical chapel in St. Peter's. On his sarcophagus, which is still to be seen in the Vatican crypt, is a recumbent statue of himself, and a Latin inscription placed there by Pope Nicholas V. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 509, *note*.)

CCIV. GREGORY XII, A.D. 1406-1409 (d. 1415)

(BENEDICT XIII, ANTIPOPE, 1394-1415)

King of the Romans: RUPERT of the Palatinate, 1400-1410

ON 18th November 1406 the cardinals entered the conclave, and each took a solemn vow that if elected he would resign if Benedict XIII, the rival Pope, did the same. On

30th November it was announced that their choice had fallen on Angelo Corario, who belonged to a noble family of Venice. He was nearly eighty years of age at the time of his elevation, and had been successively Bishop of Castello, titular patriarch of Constantinople, secretary to the Roman see, Legate to Ancona, and Cardinal-priest of St. Mark's. His consecration took place on 6th November, when he took the name of Gregory XII. His constantly repeated declaration that it was his most earnest desire to end the schism at all costs had recommended him to the cardinals, and after his elevation he took a solemn oath that to promote the union he was ready to hasten over sea in a fishing boat, or over land with a pilgrim's staff.

Benedict XIII, who was then at Marseilles, made similar protestations, and the two popes agreed to meet at Savona, each to depose himself, and to remit the choice of a new pontiff to the College of Cardinals. Both popes set out for Savona, but neither seem to have been really in earnest about meeting. Gregory halted for two months at Viterbo, and then proceeded to Siena. He then declared that Savona was unsuitable as a place of meeting, as it was under the dominion of the King of France, and therefore obedient to Benedict. He also declared that there were plots on foot to murder him and the cardinals if they set foot in that city. Various other places which were in the occupation of neutral powers were then proposed, but no decision was reached. Some writers state that King Ladislaus of Naples used his influence to prevent the meeting, as he feared the election of a French pope, who would be inimical to his interests. Benedict advanced as far as Spezia, and Gregory to Lucca, where they were not more than fifteen leagues apart. But though many letters and embassies passed between them it soon became evident that neither of the popes had any intention of abdicating.

In the spring of 1408 Ladislaus of Naples succeeded in making himself master of Rome. Gregory, who was much under the influence of his nephews, had now withdrawn to Lucca. In May 1408 he created four new cardinals, two of whom were his nephews, although he had pledged himself at his election not to increase the number of members of the Sacred College. This breach of faith greatly incensed the other cardinals, seven of whom secretly left Lucca, and entered into correspondence with the cardinals of Benedict XIII concerning the convening of a council.

In June 1408 the University of Paris had declared Benedict XIII to be deposed, and France had again withdrawn from obedience to him. Benedict embarked for Spain, and took up his residence at Perpignan on the borders of Narbonnese Gaul. There he summoned a council to meet on 1st November 1408. Gregory XII also summoned a council to meet at Whitsuntide of the following year, but found some difficulty in fixing the place of meeting, as no important city was willing to receive him. Meantime the cardinals of both obediences met at Leghorn, and unanimously decided to convene a council at Pisa in March 1409 before which both popes would be summoned to attend.

Benedict's council met at Perpignan in November 1408, and was attended by many bishops from Spain, but was by no means representative of Christendom. At this council Benedict solemnly excommunicated Gregory XII, and also the rebellious cardinals and the council which they had summoned. Violent disputes took place with regard to the course which Benedict ought to pursue, but no definite decision was reached. Benedict afterwards retired to Peniscola, near Valencia in Spain, where he remained for some years.

The council of the cardinals met at Pisa on 25th March 1409. It was attended by twenty-two cardinals, one hundred and eighty archbishops and bishops, three hundred abbots, two hundred and eighty two doctors of divinity, the three Latin patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and ambassadors from the kings of France, England, and Sicily. The Cardinal of Poitiers, who had been raised to the cardinalate before the beginning of the schism, was chosen as President.

At the close of the first session and on the three following days the gates of the cathedral were opened, and heralds made solemn proclamation demanding whether the two popes, under their names of Angelo Corario and Peter de Luna, were present. As no one replied the popes were pronounced contumacious for their non-appearance. Several weeks were spent in discussing the history of the schism, and in proving the right of the cardinals to summon a council without the authority of the Pope. On 15th April ambassadors arrived from Rupert, King of the Romans, who still adhered to Gregory XII, to protest against the action of the Cardinals in calling a council. On 5th June the Patriarch of Alexandria mounted the pulpit, and after solemnly pronouncing the deposition of both popes, declared the apostolic see vacant. The cardinals then proceeded

to elect a new pope, who took the name of Alexander V. (*Vide post.*) After the deposition of the two popes ambassadors arrived from the King of Aragon requesting that nuncios from Benedict XIII should be heard. The request was refused, and this was afterwards held to have been a serious error, as Benedict declared that the nuncios were empowered to tender his resignation.

Gregory XII assembled a council of his own adherents at Cividale in the Venetian territory, but the attendance was very small. He, however, dignified it with the title of œcumenical, and solemnly excommunicated Alexander V, Benedict XIII, and all who had taken part in the council of Pisa.

After the dissolution of his council Gregory XII was forced to depart from the Venetian territory, as his position had become unsafe, and took refuge at Naples where King Ladislaus espoused his cause against Alexander V. In 1412 Ladislaus, however, deserted the side of Gregory, and made a treaty with John XXIII (p. 373), the successor of Alexander. Driven from Neapolitan territory the aged Gregory escaped from Gaeta on board a Venetian trading ship, and after suffering great dangers and privations reached Cesena, where he was taken under the protection of Charles Malatesta, lord of Rimini.

The only result of the Council of Pisa was that there were now three popes instead of two, for Gregory XII and Benedict XIII both refused to submit to the decree of their rebellious cardinals. It was not until the meeting of the famous council of Florence (1414-1418) that an end was actually put to the great Western schism, and Gregory XII consented to resign (*vide* John XXIII). He was permitted to retain his cardinal's hat and was made perpetual legate of the Marches of Ancona. Gregory XII died in 1415, and was buried in the cathedral of Recanati.

CCV. ALEXANDER V, A.D. 1409-1410

(GREGORY XII, RIVAL POPE; BENEDICT XIII, ANTIPOPE 1394-1415)

King of the Romans: RUPERT of the Palatinate, 1400-1410

WHILE the Council of Pisa was still sitting, (*vide* Gregory XII) the conclave assembled in that city for the election of a new pope. After deliberating for eleven days, they

announced on 17th June 1409 that their choice had fallen on Peter Philargi, a native of the island of Candia. Peter was seventy years of age at the time of his elevation, and was of obscure birth, having known neither father nor mother. When begging his bread as a boy in the streets of Candia, he had been rescued by a Franciscan friar, who took him to a house of that order. There he received the rudiments of education, and embraced the monastic life at an early age. He afterwards went to Italy, where his zeal for learning won for him the approval of the superiors of his order, and he was sent to study theology at Oxford and Paris. Having obtained the degree of doctor of divinity, he returned to Italy, and became tutor to the sons of John Galeazzo Visconti, lord of Milan. He was afterwards made successively Bishop of Vicenza, Bishop of Novara, Archbishop of Milan, and Cardinal of the Church of the Twelve Apostles. His consecration took place on 7th July, when he took the name of Alexander V. After his elevation Alexander caused a bull to be read confirming all the acts of the council of Pisa, and re-uniting the cardinals present into one college.

The session of the council which was to deal with the reformation of the Church had been fixed for 15th July, but was postponed again and again. Finally, it was resolved to hold another council in three years' time, and the council of Pisa was dissolved without any important reforms having been effected. Benedict XIII, in his fortress at Peniscola, solemnly anathematized the council of Pisa, and the two popes, Gregory XII and Alexander V.

Meanwhile King Ladislaus of Naples had espoused the cause of Gregory XII, and occupied Rome with a large force. Pope Alexander V sanctioned the claims of Louis of Anjou to Naples, and the latter arrived in Italy with a body of knights. He was joined by a papal army under Baldassare Cossa, legate to Bologna, and Florence, Pisa, and Siena made a league with him against Ladislaus. On 1st October 1409 the allied troops forced an entrance into St. Peter's, but were unable to take the city. It was not until the following May that Rome surrendered to the troops of Alexander V and his allies.

Soon after his accession Alexander V issued a bull granting extraordinary privileges to the Franciscan order to which he belonged. He also granted to this order and to the Augustinian and Carmelite friars the full power to hear confession and grant absolution to penitents throughout Christendom. This bull aroused much indignation among the secular clergy, whose

prerogatives were thus infringed, and in France the clergy were forbidden by a royal proclamation to permit friars to hear confessions in their churches.

Alexander V had been driven from Pisa by an outbreak of pestilence, and retired first to Prato, and afterwards to Pistoia. As the surrender of Rome had opened for him the way to that city he now desired to proceed thither, but is said to have been dissuaded from doing so by Cardinal Baldassare Cossa. It is generally supposed that the latter desired to keep the other cardinals under his own influence at Bologna, and in that city the Pope took up his abode. While at Bologna Alexander received deputies from the Romans, who presented him with the keys of the city, and entreated him to come in person to rule Rome and the estates of the Church, which now did homage to him.

Meantime Alexander V was taken ill, and died at Bologna on 4th May 1410. He was buried in the church of the Franciscans at Bologna, where his tomb may yet be seen, though its original form underwent great changes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 512, *note.*)

CCVI. JOHN XXIII, A.D. 1410-1415

(GREGORY XII, RIVAL POPE, TO 1415; BENEDICT XIII, ANTIPOPE, TO 1415)

King of the Romans: SIGISMUND, 1410-1438

ON 17th May 1410 Baldassare Cossa, the most influential among the cardinals, was chosen pope by the conclave assembled at Bologna. He was descended from a noble but impoverished family of Naples, and in early youth is said to have joined his brothers in following the then lucrative trade of a pirate on the high seas. Having abandoned his roving life, he studied canon law at Bologna, and afterwards entered the Church. By Boniface IX he was made Cardinal-deacon of St. Eustachius and governor of the papal territory at Bologna. He took a prominent part in the Council of Pisa, and in the election of Alexander V; and afterwards commanded the papal troops which fought for Louis of Anjou against Ladislaus. (*Vide* Alexander V.) His consecration took place in the church of

St. Petronius, in Bologna, on 25th May, when he took the name of John XXIII.

Pope John was only forty-three at the time of his elevation, and is described as a tall, thin, powerfully built man with handsome features, a prominent nose, and gray eyes overhung by shaggy eyebrows. He was better fitted to be a soldier than a priest, and though the accounts given have probably been exaggerated, there is evidence that his life had been dissolute. Soon after the elevation of John, Rupert, King of the Romans died, and was succeeded by Sigismund of Hungary, half-brother of the deposed King Wenceslaus. Sigismund recognized John XXIII as lawful pope.

Like his predecessor Pope John espoused the cause of Louis of Anjou against Ladislaus, King of Naples. In April 1411 John entered Rome with Louis and a papal army. The Pope was honourably received in Rome, and took up his residence in the Vatican, while Louis of Anjou proceeded with an army against Naples. On 19th May Louis won a great victory over his rival, but failed to take advantage of this success. Ladislaus was thus afforded an opportunity of raising another army before which the troops of Louis were forced to retreat. In June 1412 Pope John XXIII made a treaty with Ladislaus, who promised to defend the states of the Church. This treaty made it necessary for Ladislaus to abandon the cause of Gregory XII, who had taken refuge in Neapolitan territory. Gregory then fled to Rimini where he was protected by Charles Malatesta. (*Vide* p. 371.)

Meanwhile Benedict XIII at Peniscola continued to maintain his claim to be lawful pope. Although abandoned by France he was still recognized by Scotland, Aragon, Castile, and Sicily. From Peniscola Benedict XIII issued six bulls, all dated 1413, confirming the foundation charter of the University of St. Andrews. Only one of the original bulls has been preserved among the University charters; the others exist in copies. They state that at the request of James I, Bishop Wardlaw, the prior, archdeacon, and conventual chapter of St. Andrews, His Holiness has consented "to institute the said studium for the study of theology, canon and civil law, arts, medicine and other lawful faculties," empowering it to confer degrees, to exempt its professors from residence on their benefices, and from the payment of taxes, and appointing visitors to inspect it. (*Vide* "History of St. Andrews," by R. C. J. Lyon, M.A., vol. i, pp. 204-206.)

In April 1412 Pope John XXIII held a council in Rome to deal with the reformation of the Church, but it was scantily attended, and almost the only measure effected was the condemnation of Wyclif's writings, which were publicly burned on the steps of St. Peter's. Several historians relate that at this council, while the "Veni Creator" was being sung, a screech-owl suddenly appeared, and glared at the Pope with fiery eyes. The cardinals looked on this as an evil omen.

Ladislaus failed to keep the treaty which he had made with John XXIII, and in June 1413 appeared before Rome with an army. The Pope fled with the cardinals to Viterbo, while Ladislaus took possession of the city, and sacked and burned the houses. From Viterbo, Pope John went to Florence, where he was received by the citizens with some reluctance. He now turned for support to Sigismund, King of the Romans, who sent ambassadors to Florence to urge the Pope to summon a general council in order to put an end to the schism. John desired to hold the council in some Italian city, but in this he was overruled by Sigismund, who chose Constance on the German side of the Alps as the place of meeting. The council was summoned by Sigismund and by Pope John to meet on 1st November 1414, and both Gregory XII and Benedict XIII were cited to attend.

Meantime Ladislaus died suddenly on 6th August 1414, and after his death Rome returned to the allegiance of Pope John. The latter then desired to hasten back to the city, but was dissuaded from doing so by the cardinals, who declared that his presence was necessary at the council about to be held. So John set out for Constance oppressed by dark forebodings.

The famous Council of Constance met in November 1414 and continued to sit until April 1418. It had been summoned for three main objects: (1) The healing of the schism and the union of the Church under one pope. (2) The reformation of the Church in its head and in its members. (3) The extirpation of heresy. According to the statistics usually accepted, it was attended by 18,000 prelates, 2,400 nobles, and 80,000 laymen. For months before, and for months after the date fixed for the meeting of the council (1st November 1414), continuous streams of people flocked into Constance. It is said that 100,000 people were at some periods in the city, and many more continued to come and go.

John had hoped to overrule his opponents by the preponderating number of Italian prelates present. But in this he was

disappointed, for it was decided that the council would vote by nations and not by numbers. On Christmas Eve 1414 the Emperor Sigismund arrived in Constance, and was afterwards present in person at the sessions of the council. It soon became evident that the general feeling was against Pope John on account of his evil life, and that the assembled prelates were determined not to confirm his election as lawful pope. On 1st March 1415 John XXIII agreed to abdicate, provided Gregory XII and Benedict XIII did the same. This announcement was received with great joy by the council. Legates from Gregory XII and also from Benedict XIII had already presented themselves at the council. Those from Gregory had declared their master's willingness to resign. The legates from Benedict stated that he had not empowered them to tender his resignation, but only to propose a meeting between him and Sigismund.

On 20th March Albert Duke of Austria, who had secretly promised to protect Pope John, held a splendid tournament outside the gates of Constance, and the whole city thronged out to witness the spectacle. In the afternoon Pope John, disguised as a groom, and mounted on a "sorry nag," passed through the gates unnoticed, and made his way to a stronghold at Schaffhausen which belonged to the Duke of Austria. From thence John wrote letters to the council, stating that he had left Constance for the benefit of his health, and summoning the cardinals to attend him at Schaffhausen.

Although John's flight caused the greatest confusion and consternation, it did not have the effect, which he had intended, of breaking up the council. Peter d'Ailly, Cardinal of Cambray, Zabarella, Cardinal of Florence, and Gerson, the French Chancellor took the lead in maintaining that the council was not dissolved by the Pope's flight. Gerson laid down the principle that Christ is the Head of the Church, and that an œcumenical council as representing the Church is superior to the Pope, who is bound to obey its decrees. For the reformation of the Church or for the healing of the schism, a council might depose a pope.

Messengers were then sent to seize John, but he escaped, and fled from place to place. At a session of the council held on 29th May, 1415, his deposition was formally pronounced. He was at length captured and imprisoned, first in the Castle of Gotleben, and afterwards at Heidelberg. From his prison he sent ambassadors to the council to make his humble submission, and to acquiesce in his sentence of deposition, con-

fessing also to many of the grave charges brought against him. After the election of Martin V (*q.v.*) the council decided to release John from his imprisonment. He afterwards went to Florence, and did homage to Martin V as pope. John was allowed to retain his cardinal's hat, and died peacefully in Florence in 1419. He was buried in the Baptistery at Florence, where his tomb, the work of Donatello, may still be seen. A recumbent figure of the Pope rests on the top of the monument, which was erected at the expense of his patron and protector, Cosimo de' Medici. (*Cf.* F. Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," Eng. trans., p. 70.)

In July 1415 Sigismund left Constance and set out on a mission of peace. At Perpignan he had a meeting with Benedict XIII, but the obstinate old prelate still refused to resign his claims to the papacy. Sigismund then journeyed to France and England, attempting to bring about peace in Europe, but his expedition was a failure, and in January 1417 he returned to Constance.

Two Benedictine monks were sent to Benedict with a summons to attend before the council of Constance, within seventy days. Attired in his pontifical robes he received them in the presence of the cardinals whom he had created. "Here come the crows of the council," he is said to have muttered. In June 1417 the Council of Constance declared Benedict to be deposed, as he still refused to appear or to abdicate. He, however, continued to live at Peniscola, and to call himself pope until his death, which occurred either in 1423 or 1424.

The trial for heresy of John Huss, a native of Hussinetz in Bohemia, took place before the Council of Constance in 1415. Huss had been much influenced by Wyclif's doctrines, which had penetrated to Bohemia. He had been preacher in the university chapel of Bethlehem at Prague, and confessor to Queen Sophia, the wife of King Wenceslaus. Huss had been summoned to appear before the Council of Constance on a charge of preaching heretical doctrines, and had been promised a safe conduct by Sigismund. This promise was not kept, and Huss was thrown into prison soon after his arrival in Constance. He was afterwards brought to trial before the council, and was burnt to death at Constance on 6th July 1415. Jerome of Prague, a friend and disciple of Huss, was also condemned by the council for heresy, and was burnt at Constance in the following year.

CCVII. MARTIN V, A.D. 1417-1431

King of the Romans: SIGISMUND, 1410-1438

THE reformation of the Church in its head and members was one of the main objects for which the Council of Constance had been summoned. After the deposition of John XXIII it was urged by many of the assembled prelates that this work of reformation should be effected before proceeding to the election of a new pope. Others, however, advised that the election should first take place, and this was at length decided in spite of the opposition of Sigismund, who earnestly desired reform.

Contrary to custom, deputies from each of the five national committees, into which the council had been divided, were invited to join with the cardinals in the election of the new pope. They met in the Kaufhaus, or Merchants' Hall, in Constance, on 8th November 1417, and, on 11th November, elected Oddo, the son of Agapito Colonna, a member of the noble Roman family of that name. Oddo was born at Genazzano in the Roman Campagna, and was educated at the University of Bologna. By Urban VI he had been made protonotary of the Roman Church, and was employed by Boniface on several important legations. By Innocent VII he had been created Cardinal-deacon of S. Giorgio in Velabro, and had afterwards taken part in the Council of Pisa. He was about fifty years of age at the time of his elevation, and is described as a wise, cautious, and prudent prelate. Although possessed of no wealth, he was a born commander, and so great was the awe in which he was held by the cardinals that they are said to have trembled and stammered like frightened children in his presence. He took the name of Martin V, because his election had taken place on St. Martin's Day. Martin was consecrated in the cathedral of Constance on 21st November 1417 in the presence of Sigismund and of a vast throng of representatives from every part of Europe. By the election of Martin V the great Western schism, which had lasted for thirty-eight years, was at length healed. Although on the death of the antipope Benedict XIII, at Peniscola, his adherents elected a successor who took the name of Clement VIII, the latter obtained little or no recognition. A reconciliation which took place between Martin V and Alphonso, King of Aragon, who had been Clement's only important supporter, soon forced him to resign his claims.

Almost immediately after his accession Pope Martin V published a bull, declaring that no one may appeal from the Roman pontiff, who is Christ's vicar on earth, or call in question his authority in matters of faith. This bull practically annulled the principle previously laid down, that a general council is superior to the Pope in matters of faith. Martin showed little inclination to proceed with the work of reform, and the Council of Constance was dissolved in April 1418, without any important reformation being effected. It was decided to summon another council at Pavia in five years' time, to deal with the work of reform. On 16th May 1418 Pope Martin V left Constance, accompanied by Sigismund, and journeyed slowly through Italy. After visiting Milan and other cities, he proceeded in February 1419 to Florence, where he remained for two years.

Rome and the estates of the Church had been seized by a powerful tyrant named Braccio, who ruled the city with the title of "Defensor Urbis." During his sojourn in Florence, Pope Martin made a treaty of peace with Queen Joan II, who had succeeded her brother Ladislaus on the throne of Naples. With the help of her troops Braccio was subdued, and forced to make his peace with the Church. In February 1420 Braccio visited Florence in great state to celebrate his reconciliation with the Pope. This opened the way for Martin's return to Rome, where he arrived in September 1420. He found the city in a state of desolation, and infested with robbers and beggars. Churches and houses had fallen into ruins, and the streets, choked with heaps of rubbish, or reduced to marshes, were almost impassable.

The Pope at once set himself to the work of restoring the city. He rebuilt the ruined portico of St. Peter's, and restored the Lateran, completing the famous mosaic pavement. He also caused the Church of the Twelve Apostles to be rebuilt and the monastery again made habitable. The cardinals followed his example by repairing their titular churches, at their own expense.

In 1423 Pope Martin summoned, as he had promised, a council at Pavia to deal with the reform of the Church. This council was attended by only a small number of Italian prelates, and soon adjourned to Siena on account of the plague. No reforms of any importance were effected, and the council was prorogued for seven years, to meet at Basle in 1431. In England Martin V attempted, but without success, to set aside

the statutes of Provisors and Praemunire. To Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martin addressed a grave epistle censuring him for supporting the former statute. (*Vide* Reg. of Papal Letters, Rolls series, vol. vii, p. 24.)

Pope Martin V died of apoplexy on 20th February 1431, and was buried in the Lateran church. He died master of Rome, and of the estates of the Church.

CCVIII. EUGENIUS IV, A.D. 1431-1447

(FELIX V, ANTIPOPE, 1439-1449)

Emperor: SIGISMUND, to 1438
King of the Romans: ALBERT II of Austria, 1438-1440
Emperor: FREDERICK III, 1440-1493

ON 3rd March 1431, Gabriel Condolmieri, a native of Venice, the son of Angelo Condolmieri, and nephew on his mother's side of Pope Gregory XII was chosen pope by the College of Cardinals. After serving for some years in the army Gabriel had distributed the vast wealth left him by his father to the poor, and had retired to the monastery of S. Giorgio in Alga. At the age of twenty-four he had been made Bishop of Siena by his uncle Gregory XII, and afterwards Cardinal-priest of St. Clemente. He was consecrated in St. Peter's in Rome on 11th March 1431, and took the name of Eugenius IV. The new pope was tall and slender, beautiful of countenance and possessed great dignity of bearing. Though some writers seem to imply that he was a harmless nonentity, the fact that he was himself responsible for most of the troubles of his pontificate shows the extent of his influence.

One of the first acts of Eugenius IV was to quarrel with the Colonna, who, as the next of kin, had seized all the wealth of the late Pope Martin. Eugenius declared that the property of Pope Martin belonged not to his relatives but to the Roman see, and sent messengers to take possession of it. The Colonna then rose in arms, but with the help of troops sent by Sigismund were subdued, and were required to pay an indemnity of 75,000 ducats to the Pope. This success was followed by the subjugation of most of the Roman states by Eugenius.

The council which had been appointed by Pope Martin V to meet at Basle assembled in July 1431. Pope Eugenius sent legates to Basle to represent him, but did not attend in person,

and the number of prelates who assembled was at first very small. War had broken out in Bohemia between the followers of John Huss and the Catholic party. In order to put an end to the disputes, it was decided to summon to Basle representatives from the Hussites and to give them a favourable hearing. Pope Eugenius, however, strongly disapproved of granting a hearing to condemned heretics, as he considered the discussion of their doctrines to be dangerous. On 18th December he issued a bull declaring the council of Basle to be dissolved, on account of the small number of prelates who had assembled, and appointing it to reassemble at Bologna in two years' time. The president of the council, Julian Cesarini, Cardinal of St. Angelo, wrote remonstrating with the Pope, and pointing out that the dissolution of the council without any reforms having been effected would draw on the Church the derision of Christendom. The Pope continued to insist on its dissolution, but the assembled prelates proceeded to confirm the decree passed at Constance, which declared that a pope could not dissolve a council without its own consent.

Sigismund desired the continuance of the council in order that it might deal with the religious dispute in Bohemia, but he also wished to avoid quarrelling with the Pope from whom he was about to receive imperial coronation. As Eugenius feared another schism he consented, on the advice of Sigismund, to make peace with the Council, which continued to meet under his authority.

On 31st May 1433, Sigismund was crowned Emperor in St. Peter's in Rome by Eugenius IV. The Emperor remained in Rome until the month of August, when he set out for Basle in order to be present at the council. Deputies from Bohemia arrived in Basle, and were heard by the council. The demands of the Bohemian people, known as "The Articles of Prague," were: (1) Freedom of preaching for their own ministers throughout Bohemia. (2) For the laity communion in both kinds. (3) That the clergy should not hold estates, or interfere in secular affairs. (4) The punishment of deadly sins by the magistrates, and the suppression of the sale of Indulgences.

After long discussion it was decided that the holy communion might be given in both kinds to those desiring it, and with regard to the other articles a vague compromise was effected. Although this agreement satisfied the moderate party in Bohemia, the extreme party refused to accept it, and the war continued.

An insurrection had meantime broken out in Rome, and on 15th May 1434 Pope Eugenius was forced to flee from the city, disguised as a monk; and took up his abode in Florence. The council of Basle proceeded to pass reformatory decrees against simony, the marriage of the clergy, annates, etc. While the question of annates was being discussed, the Pope wrote remonstrating with the council on the ground that if annates were abolished he would be deprived of his chief source of revenue. He was, moreover, in need of money, in order to entertain a deputation from the Greek Church.

The Greek Emperor, John Palaeologus, whose empire was threatened by the Turks, now desired the Pope's aid in uniting the Western princes in a crusade against the infidels. He therefore pretended to be filled with zeal for the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches, and proposed to come in person along with the Patriarch of Constantinople and a deputation of bishops to discuss this question with the Pope.

In 1437 Pope Eugenius published a decree removing the Council of Basle to Ferrara, a place which he said would be more convenient for the Greeks. Many members of the council, and all the cardinals except one, obeyed the Pope's summons, and proceeded to Ferrara in 1438. A large number of prelates refused, however, to leave Basle, and continued to meet there under the presidency of the Cardinal d'Allemand of Arles.

The Pope's council assembled at Ferrara in January 1438, and in the following month Eugenius arrived to preside in person. The Council of Basle meantime declared the Council of Ferrara to be schismatic, and refused to recognize it.

In March the Greek Emperor with his bishops arrived in great state at Ferrara, and was most honourably received by the Pope. A treaty of union was drawn up, the Greeks making many concessions, but this treaty was never ratified by the Church at Constantinople. On their return home the prelates who had signed this treaty were severely censured for the concessions they had made. While the question of union with the Greek Church was being discussed, Pope Eugenius removed the council to Florence, on account of a plague which broke out in Ferrara. The Greeks, who were very poor, objected to this removal, and only consented when the Pope promised to pay their travelling expenses. Eugenius is said to have pawned his triple crown to the Florentines for 40,000 florins, in order to supply the Greeks with money for the war against the Turks.

After the departure of the Greeks, deputies from other Eastern nations were summoned to the council by Pope Eugenius in order to treat concerning union with the Roman Church. Meantime the Council of Basle summoned Eugenius to appear before it within sixty days. As he failed to appear, he was solemnly deposed, and in November 1439 the prelates assembled at Basle elected as pope, Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy, a layman. This remarkable man had placed his sons in possession of his lands and revenues, and had retired to Ripaglia, on the shore of Lake Geneva, where, along with a few nobles who had similar tastes, he lived the peaceful life of a hermit. A deputation was sent to Ripaglia to acquaint Amadeus with the honour which had been done him. He was at first extremely unwilling to leave his retreat, but ultimately acquiesced and proceeded in solemn procession to the church of St. Maurice, which he had caused to be built near Ripaglia. There he was persuaded to shave his beard, and took the name of Felix V. A few months later he proceeded to Basle, where he was consecrated first as bishop and afterwards as pope, his two sons the Duke of Savoy and the Count of Geneva being present at the ceremony. Previous to his consecration, Felix had created five new cardinals.

Pope Eugenius received the news of this election with the greatest indignation, and called down solemn anathemas on the antipope. Felix, however, had few supporters among the princes of Europe, although Germany at first acknowledged him. In April 1442 Pope Eugenius issued a decree transferring his council from Florence to Rome, where it continued to meet. On 27th October 1439, Albert II, King of the Romans, died, and was succeeded by his uncle Frederick III, Duke of Styria, head of the House of Austria.

In 1446 Frederick III, who had at first maintained a neutral attitude, decided to convene another council in order to put an end to the schism. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (afterwards Pope Pius II), who had previously adhered to the Council of Basle, but who had afterwards made his peace with Pope Eugenius, now rendered great service to the latter in bringing about peace with Germany. Embassies accompanied by Piccolomini passed between the Pope and Frederick, and in February 1447 a concordat of peace was signed. A few days later, Pope Eugenius, who had been ill for some time died in the Vatican. His death occurred on 23rd February 1447. He was buried in the south side aisle of the old church of St. Peter.

A splendid monument was erected to his memory by his nephew Cardinal Francis Condolmieri, with a magniloquent epitaph setting forth the chief acts of his life. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 557, *note*.) At the demolition of the old church his remains were transferred to the Church of S. Giorgio in Alga, in Venetian territory, where he had made his profession as a monk.

Notwithstanding the troubles of his pontificate, Pope Eugenius laboured to restore and beautify Rome. He built the passage which leads from the Lateran church to the Sancta Sanctorum, and rebuilt and enlarged the cloister inhabited by the priests. Though he produced little original work himself, he was the patron and friend of scholars.

CCIX. NICHOLAS V, A.D. 1447-1455

(FELIX V, ANTIPOPE, TO 1449)

Emperor: FREDERICK III, 1440-1493

ON 6th March 1447 the conclave assembled in Rome elected as pope Tommaso Parentucelli, a native of Sarzana, a small town in Genoese territory, on the borders of Tuscany. Tommaso was the son of Bartolomeo Parentucelli, a poor physician, and had studied at Lucca and Bologna. At the latter University he had been maintained by Cardinal Nicholas Albergati, who, struck by his intelligence, had taken the poor scholar under his protection. After acting as tutor for some years in different Florentine families he accompanied Cardinal Albergati to the Council of Florence, and afterwards remained in the service of that Cardinal as his secretary for twenty years. In 1445 he was made Bishop of Bologna, and in the following year was created Cardinal-priest of St. Susanna. As Pope he took the name of Nicholas V, out of gratitude to his benefactor, his consecration taking place in St. Peter's on 19th March 1447.

Nicholas was a profound scholar, and had a genuine love of letters. He was possessed of a retentive memory, which was of great service to him when speaking in public In person he was short, with small weak legs, an ashen complexion, and black flashing eyes. At the time of his elevation to the papacy he was only forty-eight years of age. Frederick III, King of Germany, at once recognized Nicholas as lawful pope, and

withdrew his safe conduct from the members of the council of Basle. Although this schismatic council still continued to meet, it was no longer recognized by any of the important European powers. After the Emperor had withdrawn his protection, the city of Basle being no longer safe the council was transferred to Lausanne in 1449. The French king, Charles VII, now used his influence to bring the schism to an end, and on 7th April 1449, the antipope, Felix V, formally resigned before the council at Lausanne. Before dispersing, the council solemnly chose Nicholas V as Pope, thus ending the schism. Felix V was honoured with the title of Cardinal of St. Sabina, and died at Geneva on 7th January 1451.

The labours of Pope Nicholas V to make Rome the literary and artistic capital of the world, have entitled him to be called the first of the humanist popes. His ideal was "to ennoble religion and worship by the services of literature and art." He caused many valuable manuscripts to be collected and placed in the Vatican library, of which he is generally considered the real founder. As many as 5,000 volumes are said to have been brought together by him. As secretaries, Nicholas employed secular scholars instead of monks. The famous Laurentius Valla, who discovered the forgery of the Donation of Constantine, was invited by the Pope to Rome, and employed as his secretary. Fra Angelico, the great Florentine painter, was also invited to Rome to adorn the churches with his masterpieces. Nicholas caused the forty Roman churches in which the Stations were held during Lent to be repaired, and fortified St. Peter's and the Vatican with strong walls. He also had a great gallery built in St. Peter's in order that the church might accommodate more people, and ordered a leaden roof to be placed in the church of S. Maria Rotonda—the ancient Pantheon. The Roman streets were repaved, the Ponte Molle rebuilt, and a splendid palace erected at Viterbo, near the baths. By the Pope's orders the ancient aqueduct, Aqua Virgo, was repaired, and made to supply numerous fountains. Many distinguished artists and architects from Florence were employed by Pope Nicholas. (*Cf.* Platina, "Lives of the Popes," English trans., ed. Benham, vol. ii, p. 249.) He had conceived the gigantic project of entirely rebuilding the Leonine city with St. Peter's and the Vatican, but his death prevented him from carrying this out. In January 1450-1 Pope Nicholas V issued a bull for the establishment of Glasgow University.

In 1450 a Jubilee was held, during which pilgrims flocked

to Rome to the number of 40,000 a day. During the celebrations the Bridge of St. Angelo gave way, and two hundred people were trampled to death or drowned in the river. The offerings of the pilgrims brought great wealth to the city, and the prestige of Pope Nicholas was increased by his general recognition as lawful pope by representatives from all parts of Christendom.

In 1451 Frederick III arrived in Italy, and in the following year was crowned Emperor by Pope Nicholas. Frederick was the last emperor to be crowned in Rome. Though Pope Nicholas had succeeded in restoring to Rome and the Apostolic see much of their former grandeur, yet in 1453 Stephen Porcari, who belonged to a Roman equestrian family, conspired against the Pope's life. The plot was discovered, and Porcari, and nine of the leaders in the conspiracy, were hanged. Pope Nicholas was deeply dejected by the ingratitude on the part of the Romans, whom he had ruled mildly and justly.

But a still heavier blow was about to fall on him. On 29th May 1453 the city of Constantinople was taken by the Turks. The news of this disaster filled all Christendom with horror and dismay. Pope Nicholas had sent twenty-nine galleys to the help of the Christians in Constantinople, but they arrived too late. This complete overthrow of the Christian arms in the East is said to have been the death-blow of Pope Nicholas. Although he at once proclaimed a crusade, and dedicated to it all the revenues of the Apostolic see, he was well aware that there was now little hope of success against the Turks in the East.

Nicholas V died on 24th March 1455, and was buried in St. Peter's, not far from the tomb of Pope Eugenius IV. At the rebuilding of the church under Julius II, his tomb was transferred to the new part of the edifice. In 1606 the sarcophagus was conveyed to the crypts of St. Peter's, where it may still be seen. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 558, *note*.)

On his death-bed Pope Nicholas V defended himself to his cardinals for having spent so much money and labour in the embellishment of Rome. There is no reason to doubt that he had been moved by a genuine desire to elevate and aggrandize the Roman see by this means.

It is frequently stated that the fall of Constantinople was for the western regions the commencement of the Renaissance of letters. This, however, is scarcely correct, for a revival of

learning had begun in the west at least a hundred years previously, and had been powerfully influenced by the great Italian poet, Petrarch. At the time of the council of Ferrara, many Greek manuscripts had been brought to Italy in order to prove the points under controversy between the Greek and Latin Churches. This led many Italian churchmen to study the Greek language. A powerful impetus, however, was given to the renewed study of Greek by the fall of Constantinople. Before the capture of the city, a number of the scholars had fled, carrying their books with them. Many of these afterwards settled in Italy, where they taught Greek, and the study of Greek writers gradually spread throughout Europe.

CCX. CALIXTUS III, A.D. 1455-1458

Emperor: FREDERICK III, 1440-1493

ON 8th April 1453 Alphonso Borgia, who was descended from an ancient Spanish family in the diocese of Valentia, was elected Bishop of Rome by the cardinals. He had formerly adhered to the antipope Benedict XIII, by whom he had been made canon of Lerida in Spain. There he had made the acquaintance of Alphonso, King of Aragon, whose patronage he afterwards enjoyed, and by whom he was employed to persuade Clement VIII, the successor of Benedict XIII, to resign. By Pope Martin V he had been made Bishop of Valentia, and by Eugenius IV, Cardinal-priest of the Quattro Coronati. He was a prelate of profound learning and blameless life, and at the time of his elevation to the papacy was seventy-seven years of age. He took the name of Calixtus III,[1] the ceremony of his consecration taking place on 20th April. The Orsini took advantage of the occasion to raise a riot with the intention of inflicting punishment on certain of their enemies, but the Pope and his cardinals succeeded in quelling the disturbance by conciliatory measures. The aged Pope, who suffered from gout, spent a great part of his short pontificate in bed.

The chief aim of Calixtus seems to have been the promotion of a crusade against the Turks. By his exertions a papal fleet of sixteen vessels was equipped and sent to the east in the spring of 1456. In order to raise the necessary funds, Calixtus spent the vast wealth which had been accumulated by his

[1] He is sometimes designated as Calixtus IV, owing to reckoning the antipope under Alexander III, but not by Catholic historians.

predecessor, Nicholas V. In July 1456 John Hunyadi, the brave governor of Hungary, won a great victory over the Turks at the battle of Belgrade, but died of the plague a month later. The news of this victory filled Calixtus with joy, but he was unable to persuade the princes of Europe to unite in a general crusade against the Turks.

Alphonso of Aragon died in June 1457, leaving the kingdom of Naples to his illegitimate son Ferrante. Pope Calixtus refused to recognize the claims of Ferrante, and declared that by the death of Alphonso the kingdom of Naples had devolved to the Apostolic see. It is generally supposed that Calixtus intended to bestow Naples on one of his nephews, but he died before carrying out this project.

On his nephews, the sons of his four sisters, Pope Calixtus III lavished preferments. Two of them, Luis Juan del Mila and Roderigo Lancol, who both took the name of Borgia, were created cardinals by their uncle. Mila was also made legate of Bologna, and Roderigo legate of the Marshes and vice-chancellor of the Church. Another nephew, Don Pedro Luis, was made Duke of Spoleto. Under the influence of the Pope's nephews Spanish manners and customs prevailed in Rome.

In August 1458 Pope Calixtus was taken ill. On his illness becoming known, an insurrection broke out in Rome, and Don Pedro, who had many enemies among the jealous nobles, was forced to flee from the city. He escaped to Civita Vecchia, where he was attacked by fever and died a few months later leaving his wealth to his brother Roderigo.

Pope Calixtus III died on 6th August 1458. He was buried in the church of St. Andrew, called later S. Maria de Febribus, near St. Peter's. Some fragments of the original tomb are still to be found in the Vatican crypts. In 1610 the Spanish colony in Rome received permission to transport the tomb of the two Borgia popes, Calixtus III and Alexander VI (*vide post*, p. 400), to the church of S. Maria di Monserrato. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 559 *note*.)

CCXI. PIUS II, A.D. 1458-1464

Emperor: FREDERICK III, 1440-1493

THE famous Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who belonged to a noble but impoverished family of Siena, was elected pope by the College of Cardinals on 19th August 1458. For

many years previous to his elevation he had been one of the most prominent and distinguished prelates of his time, and had been sent on diplomatic missions to nearly every court in Europe. The parents of Æneas had been driven from Siena, along with the other nobility of the city, during a popular revolt, and had taken refuge in the small Tuscan village of Corsignano, where the future pope was born. He was one of a family of eighteen, but only two daughters besides himself lived to maturity. As the boy showed unusual intelligence, his father's relatives generously contributed money for his education. After applying himself for some years to the study of civil law at the university of Siena, he went to Florence, where he studied Greek literature. He thus acquired the humanistic culture which there prevailed, and while still a student, published several poems in Latin and Italian.

In 1431 he entered the service of Cardinal Capranica, whom he accompanied to Basle as private secretary. On leaving Basle, Æneas became secretary to the Bishop of Novara, who was soon afterwards accused of plotting against the life of Pope Eugenius IV. Æneas then sought the protection of Cardinal Albergati of Santa Croce, with whom he returned to Basle. When the cardinal was sent by the council to the congress of Arras to mediate between the French, English, and Burgundians, Æneas accompanied him in his journey through France.

While at Arras Æneas was entrusted with a secret mission to the Scottish king. He has left an interesting account of his journey through England and Scotland in the course of which he met with many strange adventures. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. vii, p. 163.)

On his return to Basle he espoused with great zeal the cause of the council against Pope Eugenius IV, and his eloquence and diplomatic ability soon won for him a position of importance. On the election of the antipope, Felix V, Æneas was made one of his secretaries. By Felix he was sent as an envoy to Frankfort, where he won the favour of the Emperor Frederick III, who crowned him as Poet Laureate, and gave him a post in the imperial chancery. While in Germany he acquired great fame as a witty humanist, though he had no great reputation for virtue. As he saw that the cause of Eugenius was likely to triumph, he gradually gained over the Emperor to acknowledge the latter as lawful pope, and was instrumental in bringing about the concordat between Germany and the Roman

see. (*Vide* p. 383.) Being sent by Frederick III to Rome, he took advantage of the opportunity given him to make his peace with Eugenius IV, who readily forgave him for the part he had played at the council of Basle. By Nicholas V Æneas was made Bishop of Trieste, and by Calixtus III was created Cardinal-priest of Sta. Sabina. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Pius II. His consecration took place in the Lateran on 3rd September, 1458. Although only fifty-three at the time of his elevation, he was crippled with gout, and looked prematurely aged and worn. Throughout the festivities of his coronation he remained plunged in melancholy. Platina, who was his contemporary, describes him as a short man, grey-haired and wrinkled.

At the conclave each of the cardinals had taken the usual vow that if elected he would prosecute the war against the Turks. Probably not until the close of his pontificate was it realized that Æneas, in taking this vow, had been in deadly earnest. One of the first acts of Pius II was to summon all the Christian princes to meet at Mantua in June 1459 to deliberate about a crusade against the Turks. Pius left Rome in February 1459, and visited several cities and states on his way to Mantua, where he arrived in May.

When the time appointed for the meeting of the council arrived, the Pope was greatly disappointed by the small attendance. As many of the princes of Europe were engaged in other wars, they had little leisure to bestow on the proposed expedition to the East. In August three ambassadors arrived from the Emperor Frederick, whom Pius had expected to attend in person.

As the Pope had refused to recognize the claims of the House of Anjou to Naples and had recognized Ferrante, the illegitimate son of Alphonso of Aragon, as king, the French envoys came to Mantua only to protest against the Pope's Neapolitan policy. The French and English agreed that while the war between them continued they could take no part in the crusade. The congress was not formally opened until 2nd September, when Pius II delivered an eloquent speech, which lasted three hours. He was, however, unable to inspire those present with his own enthusiasm, and the congress at Mantua proved a failure.

In January 1460, just before dissolving the congress, Pius II issued the famous bull "Execrabilis," in which he declared that any appeal to a future General Council was to be regarded

as treason and heresy. By this bull the Pope hoped to cancel the work of the councils of Constance and Basle.

Charles VII of France had taken advantage of the reformatory decrees passed at the Council of Basle to publish a statute known as the Pragmatic Sanction, claiming such liberties for the Gallican Church as were in accordance with the decrees passed at Basle. As this involved the curtailment of the papal power in France, Pope Pius II used every effort to have the Pragmatic Sanction annulled. In 1461 Charles VII died, and his son, Louis XI, who had been on unfriendly terms with his father, agreed to annul the Pragmatic Sanction at the request of Pius II. But as neither the French Parliament nor the University of Paris would agree to this, it continued to be observed till the year 1516, when a concord was signed between Pope Leo X and Francis I.

On 11th April 1462 a magnificent ceremony took place, the occasion being the reception of the head of the Apostle St. Andrew in Rome. The head had been brought from Patras by the dethroned despot, Thomas Palaeologus, that it might be saved from the Turks. Dense crowds thronged to witness the great procession, in which the Pope and his cardinals accompanied the relic to St. Peter's. When the skull had been placed on the altar, the Pope fell on his knees and addressed to it a reverent welcome. (*Vide* Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome," Eng. trans., vol. vii, p. 207.) This ceremony created a deep impression on the minds of the Roman people, and increased their respect for the Pope.

Despairing of success in promoting a crusade, Pope Pius II seems to have conceived the project of converting the Turks to Christianity by the force of his eloquence. He accordingly addressed a letter to the Sultan, urging him to accept Christianity. This extraordinary letter, which forms a bulky pamphlet, is believed by some authorities to have been intended by Pius more as a humanistic conceit than as a serious appeal to the Sultan. There is, however, no reason to doubt his sincerity. (*Cf.* Creighton's "Hist. of the Papacy," vol. iii, p. 311.)

The discovery of alum at Tolfa, near Civita Vecchia, at this time increased the papal revenues to the extent of 100,000 ducats, this commodity having been hitherto found only in Asia. The additional funds were employed by the Pope in promoting the war against the Turks, who still continued their conquests.

In 1462 Pope Pius II assembled his cardinals and declared

that the Roman Church by its lack of fervour for the crusade was earning the contempt of Christendom, and that he had become ashamed of his own inaction. Weak and ill as he was, he had decided to set out in person against the Turks in the hopes of rousing the princes of Europe from their lethargy by his example. In the following year Pius presided at a congress in Rome, at which he caused a bull to be read proclaiming a crusade. He had already signed an alliance with Venice and Hungary, by which these powers pledged themselves to carry on the war for three years. The Duke of Burgundy had also promised to join the crusade, but afterwards excused himself from doing so.

Pope Pius ordered the crusaders to assemble at Ancona, from whence a Venetian fleet was to transport them to the East. He himself set out from Rome with a few trusted prelates on 18th June 1464. He embarked in a barge on the Tiber, for he was tormented with gout, and his physicians had considered this the easiest means of transport. On the third day one of the rowers fell into the river and was drowned before the Pope's eyes, an accident which greatly depressed him. Hearing that a tumult seemed likely to arise among the crusaders already assembled at Ancona, he despatched thither his trusted friend the aged Cardinal Carvajal. At Otricoli the Pope left the barge and was carried the rest of the long journey in a litter. Although attacked by fever, and suffering severe pain, he forbade his physicians to mention it. On the way they were met by streams of ragged crusaders who, unable to find any means of transport, were already returning from Ancona. In order to spare the Pope this sight his physicians ordered the curtains of his litter to be closed, assuring him that the wind was injurious to his eyes. Under the burning heat of the Italian sun he insisted on continuing the journey, but by the time they reached Ancona he was hopelessly ill.

Pius had hoped to find the Venetian fleet waiting at Ancona, but only six of his own vessels lay in the harbour. He was carried to the Bishop's palace, and it soon became evident that his end was not far off. News arrived that the Turks had threatened to attack the Venetian fleet, and Cardinal Carvajal courageously proposed to go to its assistance with the papal vessels which lay in the harbour. "What hinders me from going with you?" said the dying Pope.

At length, on 12th August, the Venetian fleet came in sight. The Pope was carried to a window to see the vessels, but they

came too late. On 14th August he died, and the crusade was at an end. His body was conveyed to Rome and was buried in St. Peter's at the end of the south aisle. In 1614 the sarcophagus was transported to the church of S. Andrea della Valle, where a monument was erected to his memory. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 560, *note.*)

The principal works of Pius II were published before he became pope, and after his elevation he found it necessary to withdraw some of them from circulation on account of their coarseness. His works include: A collection of memoirs of the Council of Basle up to the election of Felix V; a Latin Comedy in the style of Terence, called "Chrisis"; and a Latin novel called "Lucretia and Euryalus," in the style of Boccaccio; two books of Cosmography; a collection of Dialogues in the style of Cicero; treatises on "Education," on "The Nature and Care of Horses," on "The Miseries of Court Life, and others. A life of Pius II and a collection of Historical Commentaries in several books, published under the name of his secretary Gobellinus, are supposed to be his own work. Towards the close of this pontificate the art of printing was introduced into Italy by German printers.

CCXII. PAUL II, A.D. 1464-1471

Emperor: FREDERICK III, 1440-1493

THE conclave assembled in the Vatican on 27th August 1464, and on 30th August Pietro Barbo, Cardinal of St. Mark's, was unanimously elected pope. He was the son of Nicholas Barbo, a native of Venice, and of Polixena Condolmieri, sister of Eugenius IV. As a boy he had been brought up for the sea, and is said to have been about to start for the East in a trading vessel when he heard of the elevation of his uncle to the papacy. He consequently remained in Venice and afterwards took orders, becoming successively Archbishop of Bologna, Bishop of Cervia, Protonotary to the Apostolic see, and Cardinal. As he was easily moved to tears Pius II gave him the name of "Maria Piantissima." He was only forty-eight at the time of his elevation, and was of moderate ability, but remarkable for his tall, handsome figure and personal beauty. He took the name of Paul II, and was consecrated on 16th September 1464.

He was extremely fond of display, and spent vast sums on beautiful clothes for himself and on silk hangings and orna-

ments for his palace. He was also an eager collector of jewels, bronzes, cameos, medals, intaglios, and other objects of art, and at his death left a magnificent collection which was afterwards broken up and sold. The beautiful Palazzo Venezia, which still stands at the end of the Corso in Rome, was built by order of this pope, and was his favourite residence during his pontificate. During the day he slept and performed his chief duties during the night, owing to a cough, which prevented him from sleeping at the usual hours.

One of the first acts of Pope Paul II after his elevation was to abolish the College of Abbreviators, which had been founded by Pius II. These men were scholars, who held office for life, and whose business it was to abridge bulls and other papal documents. The historian Platina, who was one of the members of this college, appealed against his dismissal, and was accordingly imprisoned for some months by order of the Pope. During his imprisonment he suffered great hardships, but was at length released through the influence of his friend, Cardinal Gonzaga. Platina was ordered to remain in Rome, and outlived Paul II, whose biography he afterwards wrote and added it to his collection of the "Lives of the Popes." Although the accusations brought by Platina against the Pope are clearly due to prejudice, the memory of Paul II has remained blackened by the writings of this historian.

After the dissolution of the College of Abbreviators the dismissed scholars continued to meet at the Roman Academy and to malign the Pope at their assemblies. Paul, fearing that these meetings would lead to political intrigues, ordered the Roman Academy to be dissolved. For this he is charged by Platina with despising literature.

In 1465 Paul II summoned to Rome George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, who had joined the reformers in that country. As he failed to appear the Pope persuaded Matthias, King of Hungary, to take up arms against him. In December 1466 Paul II pronounced a sentence of excommunication and deposition against George Podiebrad. The Bohemians made a stubborn resistance, and the war continued throughout this pontificate. In 1468 the Emperor Frederick visited the Pope in Rome and was honourably received. In 1469 the Pope conferred on Louis XI of France the honorific title of "Most Christian King."

On 26th July 1471 Pope Paul II was found dead in bed, death being due to apoplexy. He was buried in St. Peter's.

CCXIII. SIXTUS IV, A.D. 1471-1484

Emperor: FREDERICK III, 1440-1493

ON 9th August 1471 Francesco della Rovere was elected Pope by the conclave assembled in Rome. He was the son of Leonardo, a poor fisherman from the village of Abezzola near Savona. His mother's name was Luchina Mugnone. Although some writers attempt to trace his descent from a noble Ligurian family, lords of Rovere in Piedmont, others state that after acting for a time as tutor in the family of Rovere, he took their name, by which he was afterwards known.

Francesco received his early education in a Franciscan friary, entered the order, and afterwards rose to be its general. He was celebrated as an eloquent preacher, and his lectures, while he was professor at the universities of Padua, Bologna, and Florence, were attended by scholars from all parts of Europe. By Paul II he was created Cardinal of S. Pietro ad Vincola in 1467. He took the name of Sixtus IV, and was consecrated on 25th August 1471. At the time of his elevation he was fifty-seven years of age, and was of middle height, of powerful frame, and had heavy features.

Pope Sixtus reversed the policy of his predecessor by reviving the Roman Academy, and taking Platina into his favour. The historian was appointed one of the librarians at the Vatican, and dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV his "Lives of the Popes." This Pope did not scruple to aggrandize his nephews. Two of them, Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere (afterwards Pope Julius II) were made cardinals at the age of twenty-six and twenty-eight respectively; Leonardo della Rovere, a brother of Giuliano, was made prefect of Rome, while Girolamo Riario, the brother of Pietro, became Count of Imola. Cardinal Pietro Riario is said to have died a victim of his own profligacy at the age of twenty-eight. Sixtus was overwhelmed with grief by his nephew's death, and issued sumptuary laws restraining the extravagance of the cardinals for the future, forbidding them to have more than two courses of meat at table, or to indulge in hunting.

In 1474 a quarrel arose between Pope Sixtus IV and the Medici of Florence. This family, which had risen to great wealth through commerce, and had for some time ruled the

Florentine State, was now represented by the two brothers Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici. Sixtus had at the beginning of his pontificate shown himself friendly to Lorenzo, and had appointed him his treasurer. Giuliano had entered the Church, and Lorenzo suggested to the Pope that his brother should be made a cardinal. Sixtus, however, took no notice of the request, and the ill-feeling thus engendered was increased when the Medici opposed the granting of Imola to the Pope's nephew, Count Girolamo. Sixtus then deprived Lorenzo of the office of treasurer, which was handed over to Francesco de Pozzi, a banker of Florence, the enemy of the Medici. Another enemy of the Medici was made Archbishop of Pisa by the Pope.

It is generally supposed that Pope Sixtus entertained the project of seizing Tuscany and the Florentine States, in order to make them over to his nephew, Count Girolamo Riario. About the beginning of the year 1477, a conspiracy was formed by Count Girolamo and Francesco de Pozzi against the Medici. Although the Pope was privy to this conspiracy, it is believed that he wished to bring about the imprisonment of the Medici, but not their death. On 28th April 1478, assassins fell upon the Medici brothers while they were attending mass in the cathedral in Florence. Giuliano was stabbed to death, but Lorenzo escaped with a slight wound.

The Florentines at once turned against the conspirators, and put to death as many as fell into their hands, the Pozzi family being almost entirely annihilated. Cardinal Raffaelle Riario, a boy of eighteen, the son of one of the Pope's nephews, was suspected of having had a share in the conspiracy, and was thrown into prison.

Pope Sixtus IV, pressed by Count Girolamo, issued a bull of excommunication against Lorenzo and placed Florence under an interdict. The Florentines, however, loyally supported the Medici, who had ruled practically Venice, Milan, Ferrara, and other Italian States; and they, as well as Louis XI of France, joined Florence in a league against the Pope. Sixtus had meanwhile made an alliance with King Ferrante of Naples, but in December 1479 Lorenzo de' Medici visited Naples and won Ferrante to his side.

These quarrels were suddenly brought to an end by the news that the Turks had landed in Otranto, in the kingdom of Naples, with 5,000 horse and a large body of foot. Otranto fell into their hands after a siege of two months, and eight hundred of the inhabitants were put to the sword. A peace was hastily

concluded between the Florentines and the Pope, in order that both sides might turn their arms against the Turks. But the death of Mohammed II caused the Turks to make peace and to withdraw from Italy.

After the departure of the Turks the quarrels were renewed between Count Girolamo and the Italian nobles, and Sixtus was forced to seek support from Venice against the Duke of Ferrara. Count Girolamo also took up arms against the Colonna, but met with little success. Through the mediation of the Emperor a truce was concluded in November 1482 between the Pope, Naples, and Milan. The Pope now joined Naples against Florence, and in February 1483 all the ecclesiastical territories previously occupied by the Florentines were restored to the Church. The Italian princes, however, soon tired of the war with Venice, and concluded a truce with that republic in 1484, without consulting the Pope. Sixtus became so incensed on hearing of this treaty that he brought on an attack of fever of which he died on 12th August 1484. He was buried in St. Peter's in a chapel which he had caused to be built. The imposing monument, now to be seen in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in St. Peter's, was erected to his memory by his nephew, Cardinal della Rovere, in 1493.

The work for which Pope Sixtus IV is chiefly remembered is that which he accomplished in improving and beautifying Rome. By his orders the Roman streets were paved and widened, many old houses pulled down, and new thoroughfares made. A new bridge over the Tiber, still called in his honour the Ponte Sisto, was also built by him. In 1471 he caused the Hospital of St. Spirito for foundlings to be rebuilt, and provided portions for the girls when they left the home.

He contemplated making extensive additions to the Vatican, but only finished the library and the chapel which bears his name. This famous Sistine chapel, begun in 1473, was finished in 1481. It was at first decorated with paintings by Perugino, but these were afterwards destroyed to make room for the frescoes of Michael Angelo, with which it was adorned during the pontificate of Julius II.

In the service of Pope Sixtus IV were employed the famous painters, Ghirlandaio, Botticelli, Signorelli, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Melozzo da Forli. Sixtus also rebuilt many Roman churches, including S. Maria del Popolo. The cardinals followed the Pope's example by causing their titular churches to be restored.

CCXIV. INNOCENT VIII, A.D. 1484-1492

Emperor: FREDERICK III, 1440-1493

THE death of Sixtus IV was followed by a tumult in Rome, raised by contending factions. One party was violently opposed to the nephews of the deceased Pope, and determined to put an end to the avarice and rapacity of the cardinals. When the conclave assembled on 25th August 1484 civil war seemed imminent. The election of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Cibò as Pope on 29th August is said to have been chiefly due to the influence of Cardinal della Rovere, who bribed nineteen out of the twenty-four cardinals to elect him. Cibo was a native of Genoa, the son of Arano Cibo, who had been Senator of Rome and Viceroy of Naples. His mother's name was Teodorina da Mare. Some writers state that his family came originally from Greece. Cibo entered the Church, and was made Bishop of Savona by Pope Paul II. By Sixtus IV he was made Bishop of Molfetta and cardinal. He took the name of Innocent VIII, and was consecrated on 12th September 1484. Innocent was fifty-two at the time of his elevation, and was of medium height, powerfully built, with a fair complexion, full face, and weak eyes. He is said to have been remarkable for nothing except a kindly and genial disposition. He had several illegitimate children, whom he openly acknowledged after his elevation to the papacy.

During the first years of his pontificate Innocent was very much under the influence of Cardinal della Rovere, to whom he owed his election. Rome continued to be plunged in confusion by party strife, and the Colonna and Orsini took up arms against each other. Murders took place daily in the city, justice was mocked, and every one had recourse to violence.

A quarrel arose between Pope Innocent VIII and Ferrante, King of Naples, whom Sixtus IV had released from paying tribute to the Roman see. Innocent refused to confirm this decree of his predecessor, and demanded the arrears of the tribute due from Ferrante. On the refusal of the latter to pay, the Pope invited Réné, Duke of Lorraine, grandson of Réné of Anjou, to come and take possession of the Kingdom of Naples. Innocent also supported the Neapolitan barons who had taken up arms against Ferrante and his son. In 1486 the Pope sent Cardinal della Rovere to negotiate an alliance with

Charles VIII of France, and also to escort Réné to Italy. The latter, however, was disinclined to accept the invitation, and during the cardinal's absence Pope Innocent accepted overtures of peace from Ferrante of Naples. A treaty was signed between Ferrante and the Pope, neither side gaining any advantage. This treaty led to ill-feeling between the Pope and Cardinal della Rovere, who for a time lost his influence.

In 1487 an alliance was made between Pope Innocent VIII and Lorenzo de' Medici of Florence. In July of the following year a marriage took place between Maddalena, daughter of Lorenzo, and Franceschetto Cibo, the Pope's illegitimate son. Giovanni de' Medici (afterwards Leo X), the second son of Lorenzo, then a boy of fourteen, was created a cardinal by Innocent VIII in 1489. Four years later Giovanni came to Rome, and assumed his official position as a member of the Curia. His father, the famous Lorenzo, died at the early age of forty-four, a few weeks after his son's arrival in Rome.

Mohammed II, the Turkish Sultan, had left two sons, Bajazet and Djem, who disputed the succession. In the war which arose between them Djem was defeated, and took refuge at Rhodes with the knights of St. John. Pope Innocent VIII is said to have promised the grand master of the knights a cardinal's hat if Djem were handed over to him. Djem accordingly arrived in Rome in March 1489, and was courteously received by the Pope. He spent his days in idle pleasures in the Vatican, being permitted to hunt and amuse himself with music and banquets, although carefully guarded. Bajazet pledged himself to pay the Pope 40,000 ducats yearly for the custody of his brother, and for the maintenance of a lasting peace with Christendom. At the same time, however, he bribed servants to poison Djem, but an attempt to do so was discovered and frustrated. In order to win favour with the Pope, Bajazet sent him what was supposed to be the spear-head with which Christ's side was pierced on the Cross. This relic was conveyed to St. Peter's accompanied by a solemn procession.

In September 1490 Innocent VIII became seriously ill, and an attempt was made by his son Franceschetto to seize the treasures of the Church and to get possession of Djem. The cardinals intervened, however, and took an inventory of the Pope's possessions. The Pope recovered, and was extremely indignant on hearing of what had taken place. "I hope one day to fall heir to all these lord cardinals," he said. (*Vide*

Gregorovius, "History of the City of Rome," English trans., vol. vii, pt. 1, p. 310).

In 1491 Innocent again became seriously ill, but lingered on his deathbed for more than a year. He died on 25th July 1492, at the age of sixty, and was buried in St. Peter's, where a magnificent monument erected to his memory, with a colossal figure of the Pope, may still be seen.

Innocent VIII caused a beautiful summer-house, called the Villa Belvedere, to be erected in the Vatican gardens. He also built a country-house on the Tiber, outside the Porta Portese. By his orders the church of S. Maria in Via Lata was rebuilt, and the fountain in the Piazza of St. Peter's was provided with two large basins, one of which is still in use.

CCXV. ALEXANDER VI, A.D. 1492-1503

Emperors: FREDERICK III, to 1493; MAXIMILIAN I, 1493-1519

THE famous Rodrigo Borgia was elected supreme pontiff by the College of Cardinals assembled in the Sistine Chapel on 11th August 1492. He is said to have secured his election by giving enormous bribes to the cardinals. Rodrigo was a native of Xativa, near Valencia in Spain, and was the son of a nobleman named Don Jofré and of Donna Isabel de Borgia, sister of Calixtus III. He was at first intended for the legal profession, and studied canon law at Bologna. At the elevation of his uncle to the papacy he took orders and was made Cardinal-deacon of St. Nicholas in Carcere, and Vice-Chancellor of the Roman Church. A large number of wealthy bishoprics and abbeys were also conferred on him. At the time of his elevation to the papal chair he was sixty years of age, and had served under five popes. He took the name of Alexander VI, and was consecrated in St. Peter's on 26th August, when he received a great ovation from the Roman people.

Alexander was remarkable for his handsome appearance and agreeable manner, which made him irresistibly attractive to women. In his twenty-ninth year his misconduct at Siena had drawn on him a scathing rebuke from Pope Pius II. His relations with Vanozza, a married woman, were probably well known to the cardinals before his elevation. By her he had four children Juan, Caesar, Jofré and Lucrezia. He had also other children by different women.

Being possessed of considerable wealth, he at first obtained popularity by his generous gifts to the poor, and by organizing a series of brilliant festivals. He also laboured to restore order in Rome, and appointed commissioners to judge disputes. So fearful was the state of anarchy in Rome, that during the month which elapsed between the death of Innocent VIII and the consecration of Alexander VI, no fewer than two hundred and twenty people are said to have been assassinated in the streets.

During the first year of his pontificate Alexander VI issued two important bulls, by which he granted to the Spanish monarchs and their heirs all the lands in that New World, the existence of which had but recently been made known through the discoveries of Columbus.

In 1494 Charles VIII of France prepared to pass through Italy on his way to take possession of Naples, over which he claimed hereditary rights. Ferrante, King of Naples, had made a treaty of peace with the Pope, by which it was agreed that the Pope's son Jofré would marry a granddaughter of the King. Shortly after the conclusion of this treaty, however, Ferrante died, and was succeeded by his son Alphonso II, who was of a cruel and violent disposition. This gave an opportunity for the French claim to Naples to be renewed. Cardinal della Rovere, who hated the Borgia family, and who disapproved of the alliance with Naples, secretly left Rome and went to France. He was received with much honour by Charles VIII, whom he urged to make war on Rome and Naples.

Charles had threatened to call a General Council for the reform of the Church, a threat which greatly alarmed Alexander VI. As the Pope had made an alliance with Naples, he could not openly support the claims of Charles. In order to win his favour, however, the Pope declared that he took Charles under his protection, and was ready to welcome him to Rome on his way to a crusade against the Turks.

On 17th November 1494 Charles VIII entered Florence, where a revolution had recently overthrown the Medicean rule, and had an interview with the famous Savonarola, prior of the Dominican monastery of St. Marco. Savonarola welcomed the King as a reformer of the Church.

Pope Alexander dreading the arrival of the French army in Rome, and being aware that Della Rovere and other cardinals were plotting against him with the French king, endeavoured to secure the aid of the Turks against France. In this, how-

ever, he failed, although it was represented to Bajazet that Charles was marching against Rome with the intention of seizing Prince Djem, who was still a prisoner at the papal court (*vide* Innocent VIII), and that after taking Naples the King would proceed against Constantinople.

At the approach of the French army, the Romans rose against Alexander, and the papal palace was sacked. He fled to the Castle of St. Angelo, taking with him the treasures and valuables from the papal chapel. On 31st December 1494 the French army entered Rome, and a fortnight later Alexander VI made terms with the French king. Certain papal territories were to be surrendered to Charles; the Pope was to receive back to favour the cardinals and nobles who had favoured the French cause, and to deliver up Prince Djem as a hostage to Charles; Cardinal Caesar Borgia, the Pope's son, was to accompany the King to Naples as legate. Charles, however, gained little real advantage from this treaty, for the Pope refused to grant him the investiture of Naples.

On 25th January 1495 the French army set out for Naples, and a few days later Prince Djem died in the French camp, poisoned according to rumour. Two days after leaving Rome Cardinal Caesar Borgia, disguised as a groom, left the French camp and returned to the city. The French entered Naples in triumph, Alphonso II having abdicated on hearing of their approach. Charles remained for some months in Neapolitan territory, during which time his troops surrendered themselves to debauchery. Meantime his enemies united against him, and in May he was forced to leave Naples and return to France. Ferdinand II, son of Alphonso, was then restored to the throne of Naples, but died in the following year. He was succeeded by his uncle Federigo.

Towards the end of Alexander's pontificate the French, under Louis XII, made another descent on Naples and took possession. But Louis was no more successful in maintaining his position in Naples than his predecessors had been, and the French were again driven out in 1503.

Savonarola had incurred the enmity of Pope Alexander VI by interfering in Italian politics, and by preaching against the vices of the papal court. He was consequently forbidden by the Pope to preach but refused to obey. The Franciscans became hostile to him and joined the Pope against him. In 1498 he was arrested on a charge of heresy, tried, and burnt in the market-place in Florence.

Alexander VI had promised to keep his children out of Rome, but his paternal affection prevailed over his wisdom. The ambitious schemes which he formed for his children's advancement soon aroused bitter feelings against him. For an elder son, Don Pedro Luis, Alexander had bought the duchy of Gandia in Spain; but Don Pedro died before his father's elevation to the papacy. The duchy of Gandia was afterwards conferred on Juan, one of Alexander's sons by Vanozza. In June 1497 the Pope also invested Don Juan with the duchy of Benevento and with Terracina and Pontecorvo at the expense of the Church. His younger brother, Caesar, who is described by most writers as a monster of wickedness and cruelty, was created a cardinal at the age of eighteen.

A few days after his investiture with Benevento, Don Juan was secretly murdered. His body, pierced by many wounds, was found by some fishermen in the Tiber. It was believed by many that his brother Caesar was the murderer, though his guilt was never established. Pope Alexander VI was overwhelmed with grief at the murder of his favourite son, and in the first days of his sorrow seems to have seriously resolved to take active measures for the reform of the Church. He went so far as to appoint for this purpose a commission of cardinals, but his zeal soon began to cool, and very little reform was accomplished. In the year following his brother's murder Caesar resigned the cardinalate. He and his father allied themselves with the Orsini or Guelph party, and with their assistance recovered the fortified towns of Rimini, Faenza and Pesaro, which had been seized by the nobles. Caesar was greatly feared in Rome, and several murders committed at this time were attributed to him. He is said to have poisoned a number of his enemies.

In 1498 Pope Alexander VI concluded another treaty with France. Caesar was created Duke of Valentinois by Louis XII, and a royal marriage was arranged for him with Charlotte, sister of Jean d'Albret, King of Navarre. He was also made Duke of Romagna by the Pope.

Lucrezia Borgia, the daughter of Pope Alexander VI was allowed to exercise great influence at the papal court, and vast territories were bestowed on her. While it is evident that she was employed as a tool to increase the political interests of the papacy, there is not sufficient proof that she deserved the evil reputation assigned to her by many writers. She was thrice married, her first marriage being dissolved in order that by some new alliance fresh political advantages might be secured.

Her second husband, the Duke of Biseglia, is said to have been murdered by order of Caesar. In 1503 she was married to the Duke of Ferrara, and retired with her husband to his estates, where she lived a blameless life until her death in 1517.

Alexander VI died on 18th August 1503. His illness declared itself after a supper given in the gardens of Cardinal Hadrian of Corneto. Caesar, who was also among the guests, became ill at the same time, but recovered. The Pope's death was, therefore, attributed by some to poison, but it is more probable that he died a victim of one of the fevers prevalent in Rome during the summer.

He was buried in the church of St. Andrew adjoining St. Peter's. In 1610 his remains were transferred to the Spanish national church of S. Maria di Monserrato. (*Vide* "Liber Pontificalis," ed. Duchesne, vol. ii, p. 539, *note.*)

CCXVI. PIUS III, A.D. 1503

Emperor: MAXIMILIAN I, 1493-1519

ON 22nd September 1503 the conclave which had assembled in the Vatican elected as pope, Francesco Todeschini de Piccolomini, a native of Siena, the nephew of Pius II. He took the name of Pius III, in memory of his uncle, by whom he had been created Cardinal-deacon of St. Eustachius at the age of twenty-two. At the time of his elevation to the papacy he was sixty-four, and, like his uncle, was prematurely aged, being tormented with gout. He was of a genial and kindly disposition and very learned.

At the first consistory held by Pius III he announced his intention of summoning a council for the reform of the Church. With the Pope's permission Caesar Borgia, who had fled from Rome after the death of his father, carrying with him many treasures from the Vatican, was permitted to return.

At the time of his elevation Pius III was suffering from a tumour in his leg, and a few days after his consecration, which took place on 8th October, he was seized with fever. He died on 18th October, after a pontificate of less than one month. Pius III was buried in St. Peter's, near Pius II. In 1614 both tombs were transported to the church of S. Andrea della Valle.

CCXVII. JULIUS II, A.D. 1503-1513

Emperor: MAXIMILIAN I, 1493-1519

ON 31st October 1503 Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, a Franciscan, who had for many years been one of the most prominent Churchmen in Italy, was elected pope. He was a native of Savona, in the state of Genoa, and the son of Raphael della Rovere, brother of Sixtus IV. By his uncle, Giuliano was made Cardinal-priest of St. Peter ad Vincula, and a large number of benefices were bestowed on him. He was employed as papal legate on several important missions to different countries of Europe. During the pontificate of Innocent VIII (*vide* p. 398), who had owed his elevation to the cardinal, Della Rovere exercised great influence at the papal court, and was chiefly responsible for inducing the Pope to make war on Ferrante of Naples. Being opposed to the policy of the Borgia, he left Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI, and withdrew to France, where he urged Charles VIII to undertake an expedition against the Pope.

On his elevation to the papacy he assumed the name of Julius II, and was consecrated on 26th November 1503. Raphael's famous portrait of Julius II shows the white-bearded Pope seated in a chair, his rugged features in repose, and seemingly engaged in earnest meditation. His deep-set eyes and firmly compressed lips betoken strength of purpose and decision.

At the commencement of this pontificate France and Spain were engaged in war about the kingdom of Naples, of which, after the deposition of King Federigo (*vide* p. 402), both powers had attempted to gain possession. In 1504 the Spaniards succeeded in driving out the French, and in gaining complete possession of Naples. Pope Julius II desired the restoration to the Church of the ecclesiastical territories, which had been bestowed on Caesar Borgia. Caesar pretended to agree to this, and was allowed to go to Naples to seek the protection of Spain. While there he was arrested and imprisoned by order of King Ferdinand, who sent him to Spain. He afterwards escaped, and sought the protection of his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre. In 1507 he was killed during a rebellion of some French vassals of that king.

A quarrel now arose between the Pope and the Venetians, who claimed the protectorate over the Romagna, a right which

they had exercised before that duchy was bestowed on Caesar Borgia. Julius was, however, determined to recover the Romagna for the Church, and sought help of Louis XII of France against the Venetians. In 1508 a league was signed at Cambray by which France, the Netherlands, Aragon, Hungary, and the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara agreed to unite with the Pope against Venice. Julius solemnly excommunicated the Venetians, and it was agreed that their territory when conquered should be divided between the allied powers. In May 1509 the Venetians suffered a defeat at Vaila, and were forced to submit to the allies.

The defeat of the Venetians increased the power of the French in Italy. As Julius saw that the increasing ascendency of the French was a danger to Italy, he determined to save the republic of Venice from utter ruin. Henry VIII of England also sent Cardinal Wolsey to Rome to intervene on behalf of the Venetians. Julius consented to release the Venetians from excommunication, and soon afterwards joined with them against France. He also made a league with the Swiss, who agreed to lend him troops. The Pope undertook a campaign against Ferrara, during which he led his troops in person to the siege of Mirandola, and showed great personal courage.

Some of the cardinals, who were dissatisfied with the policy of Julius II, which aimed at the extension of the papal territory to the neglect of spiritual matters, summoned a council at Pisa to deal with the reform of the Church. To overthrow the schemes of the schismatic cardinals, Julius issued a summons for a general council to meet in the Lateran, in April 1512. Meantime the cardinals at Pisa solemnly declared Julius to be deposed, but their council received little support.

In October 1511 a Holy League was formed between the Pope, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Venice for the recovery of Bologna, which had been seized by the French. The Emperor Maximilian and Henry VIII of England, afterwards joined the League. With the help of the allies the French were driven from Bologna, and from the Romagna. About this time the title of "Most Catholic" was conferred by the Pope on the Kings of Aragon for expelling the Moors from Spain.

Before his death, which occurred on 20th February, 1513, Julius had restored and extended the territories of the Church. Although he is looked on as the re-founder of the papal states, his neglect of spiritual matters, and his failure to undertake the work of reform was soon to bring disaster on the Church.

It is as the patron and protector of Bramante, Michael Angelo, and Raphael, that Julius II has been chiefly honoured by posterity. The gifted architect Bramante designed for Julius II the new cathedral of St. Peter, of which the Pope laid the foundation stone on 18th April 1506. During this pontificate Michael Angelo painted for the Pope his famous frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. In 1508 Raphael began to paint the stanze of the Vatican, and continued the work for twelve years until his death.

Pope Julius II was buried in the Church of St. Peter, in the chapel of his uncle, Pope Sixtus IV, but his tomb was afterwards removed to his titular church of St. Peter ad Vincula. During his lifetime the Pope had ordered Michael Angelo to prepare a magnificent monument for his tomb, but the original design was abandoned, and never completed. The monument on a much smaller scale from that originally designed was placed in St. Peter ad Vincula in 1550. It is adorned by figures of Moses, Leah, and Rachel, which are the work of Michael Angelo, the remainder of the monument having been executed by his pupils. (*Vide* F. Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," Eng. trans., pp. 95-97.)

CCXVIII. LEO X, A.D. 1513-1521

Emperors: MAXIMILIAN I, 1493-1519; CHARLES V, 1519-1558

GIOVANNI, son of the famous Lorenzo de' Medici, was elected pope by the College of Cardinals on 11th March 1513. He had been destined for the Church from a very early age, and at fourteen was made Cardinal-deacon of S. Maria in Dominica by Pope Innocent VIII. Many important benefices were also conferred on him.

When the Medici were expelled from Florence in 1494, Giovanni fled in the habit of a Franciscan friar, and sojourned for some years in Germany, Holland, and France, not returning to Rome till 1500. Pope Julius II supported the Medici against the Florentines, and Giovanni was appointed as legate to accompany the papal army against the French. After the victory won at Ravenna by the French, in April 1512, Giovanni was taken prisoner. He, however, succeeded in making his escape, and after the recovery of Bologna by Julius II the Medici returned to Florence.

At his elevation to the papacy Cardinal de' Medici took the

name of Leo X. His consecration took place on 17th March 1513, and on the festivities of his coronation he is said to have spent 100,000 ducats. The new Pope was only thirty-seven years of age at the time of his elevation, but suffered from an incurable fistula. His stout, unwieldy body was supported on thin, weak legs, and his unusually large head, thick neck, fat face, and short-sighted, protruding eyes, gave him an unpleasant appearance. This was, however, atoned for by his pleasant and courteous manner. His desire to enjoy a calm and peaceful pontificate caused him to adopt a shifting and dissimulating policy, and to ally himself with whichever side seemed in turn to offer the greatest advantages.

In 1513 Leo joined a league formed by England, Spain, and the Emperor Maximilian against France. Louis XII of France was determined to regain his rights over Milan, but his troops were defeated at the battle of Novara, in June 1513. This induced him to desire peace with the Pope, and he withdrew his support from the schismatic cardinals, who had assembled a council at Pisa in the previous pontificate. (*Vide ante*, p. 406.) These cardinals afterwards made full submission to Leo X.

In 1515 Louis XII died, and was succeeded by his son-in-law, Francis I, who in September of the same year won a great victory over the Pope's Swiss allies at Marignano. By this victory Milan and all the cities of the Duchy were restored to France.

In spite of the remonstrances of the cardinals, the Pope now insisted on going to Bologna, and making an alliance with the victorious Francis I. By the treaty which was made between them, Leo X agreed to surrender the territories of Parma and Piacenza to Francis, who promised in turn to take the Church and the Medici under his protection. It was also agreed that the Pragmatic Sanction, a statute passed in 1438, to secure the liberty of the Gallican Church should be annulled. (*Vide ante*, p. 391.) In its place a concordat was drawn up, by which the King was to appoint to the French bishoprics, but the Pope was to receive the revenues of all vacant French benefices.

To make up for the loss of Parma and Piacenza, the Pope seized the territories of Francesco della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, and bestowed the Duchy on his nephew, Lorenzo de' Medici. Della Rovere afterwards reconquered his Duchy, but a prolonged war followed, and he was at length persuaded to give up all claims to it on condition that he might continue to enjoy his private property.

Pope Leo X had made bitter enemies among certain of the cardinals, and in 1517 a conspiracy was formed against his life. Cardinal Petrucci, the leader of this conspiracy, who had allied himself with Della Rovere, was arrested and imprisoned along with two other cardinals. Petrucci was executed, but the other two were pardoned after paying a heavy fine. The Pope afterwards created thirty-one new cardinals on one day.

The Lateran Council, which had been assembled by Pope Julius II (p. 406), continued to sit under Leo X until March 1517, when it was dissolved by the Pope without any important reforms having been accomplished. But the cry for reform had long resounded from all parts of Christendom, and the failure of the Popes to respond was now to bring great trouble on the Church.

The great revolution known as the Reformation was not, however, entirely due to this cause, but was part of that wider intellectual movement known as the Renaissance which was now infused into religion. The issue by Leo X of a bull, granting Indulgences to all who should contribute to the building of the new church of St. Peter, begun under Julius II (*q.v.*), served to bring matters to a crisis.

Albert of Brandenburg, already Archbishop of Magdeburg, was made in addition Archbishop of Mainz, but had to pay a large sum for his installation. To enable him to discharge his obligations, Leo X gave permission for Indulgences to be sold in his territory. Half the sum thus collected was to go to the Archbishop, and the other half towards the building of St. Peter's. A friar named Tetzel was accordingly sent to Germany to sell these Indulgences. Martin Luther, an Augustinian friar, Professor of Divinity at the University of Wittenberg, objected to the traffic in Indulgences, and in October 1517 fixed ninety-five theses on the subject of Indulgences on the door of the Castle Church of Wittenberg. Copies of these theses were sent to all parts of Germany, and many agreed with Luther in condemning not only Indulgences, but many abuses which had long prevailed in the Church. Pope Leo X summoned Luther to Rome, but the Elector Frederick of Saxony had taken him under his protection, and persuaded the Pope to let him be examined at Augsburg by Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate for Germany. Luther, however, refused to recant his opinions, and was charged with heresy. In 1520 the Pope issued a bull condemning Luther's doctrines, and ordering his books to be burned.

Luther now appealed to a general council, and burned the Pope's bull outside the walls of Wittenberg, in presence of a large crowd of people. In 1521 Luther appeared at the Diet of Worms, and in presence of the newly-elected Emperor Charles V, and of many princes of the Empire, pleaded his cause, and again refused to recant. An edict of outlawry was pronounced against him, but the Elector of Saxony continued to protect him, and he was secretly conveyed to a castle in the Wartburg, where he remained in safety for more than a year. Meantime the Pope found himself powerless to stop the spread of the reformed doctrines throughout Germany.

In 1522 Henry VIII of England wrote a Latin treatise on the seven Sacraments, in which he defended the doctrine and practices of the Roman Church against Martin Luther. A copy of this treatise was presented to Pope Leo X, who declared it to be the work of the Holy Spirit, and conferred on Henry the title of "Defender of the Faith."

On 8th May 1521, the same day on which the ban of the Empire was published against Luther, an alliance was signed between the Pope and Charles V. Leo agreed to pay half the sum required to maintain the Swiss troops, which were employed in the war against France. Charles engaged to restore Parma and Piacenza to the Church, after he had expelled the French, and to take Florence and the Medici under his protection. The Pope also promised to support Charles in the war against Venice, to crown him Emperor, and to invest him with the kingdom of Naples. Leo afterwards excommunicated the King of France, and threatened to depose him unless he surrendered Parma and Piacenza.

Pope Leo X spent his leisure in the enjoyment of art, music, and the drama. He revived the Roman University, which had declined under his predecessor, and was a liberal patron of artists and men of letters. He also caused large sums to be spent on works of charity. During this pontificate Raphael finished the decorations of the Vatican halls and prepared the cartoons for the tapestries of the Sistine chapel. He also painted the famous portrait of Leo X with the Cardinals de' Medici and Rossi. Poets and artists flocked to Rome from all quarters to seek the patronage of the Pope, who caused many valuable manuscripts to be added to the Vatican library.

Pope Leo X died suddenly of malaria on 1st December 1521. He was buried in a simple tomb in St. Peter's. In the pontificate of Paul III his remains were conveyed to the

church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, where a monument was erected to his memory.

CCXIX. HADRIAN VI, A.D. 1522-1523

Emperor: CHARLES V, 1519-1558

ON the death of Leo X the cardinals found considerable difficulty in agreeing as to the successor to be chosen. A number of different candidates were proposed, including the English Cardinal Wolsey. At length, on 9th January 1522, they agreed to elect Cardinal Hadrian, of Utrecht, who was then acting as Viceroy in Spain. Hadrian was of obscure birth, being the son of Florisz Boyens, a ship-carpenter of Utrecht. He lost his father at an early age, but was kept by his mother at the School of the Brethren of the Common Life at Zwolle. At seventeen he entered the University of Louvain, where he made great progress in theology, and was afterwards the author of several theological treatises. He was preferred to several benefices in Holland through the influence of Margaret of Flanders, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, was made professor of divinity at Louvain, and later Vice-Chancellor of the University. In 1506 he was appointed tutor to the future Emperor, Charles V, to whose influence he afterwards owed his elevation to the papacy. Having been sent on a mission to Spain, he was, while in that country, made Bishop of Tortosa, and in 1517 was created cardinal of SS. Giovanni and Paolo by Leo X. On the succession of Charles V to the imperial throne, Hadrian was made Viceroy of Spain.

On receiving the news of his elevation to the papacy, Hadrian did not at once proceed to Italy, but remained in Spain to settle the affairs of that country while corresponding with the Kings of England and France concerning his future policy. He did not arrive in Rome until the month of August, his consecration taking place on the 31st of that month. Contrary to custom he did not change his name on his elevation to the papacy. Even before his arrival in Rome the cardinals had begun to regret the choice they had made. The new pope soon showed that he had little sympathy with the luxury and avarice of the Curia. He was deeply in earnest with regard to the reformation of the Church, and declared that it should begin with the cardinals themselves. He had, however, little

skill as a politician, and was incapable of dealing with the difficult political situation which he was called upon to face.

Hadrian desired to bring about peace among the princes of Europe in order to unite them against the Turks, who seized Rhodes during this pontificate. Charles V, however, used all his influence to induce Hadrian to adopt the imperial policy, and in August 1523 the Pope was persuaded to join the Emperor and Henry VIII in a league against France. Meantime a large part of Germany had adopted the doctrines of Luther, and thrown off the papal authority. Numbers of monks and nuns broke their vows and returned to the world.

Pope Hadrian VI determined to crush Luther, and sent as his nuncio to the Diet, at Nürnberg, Francesco Chieregato, Bishop of Teramo. With the nuncio Hadrian sent a confession, in which he declared that the Church had grievously erred, and that its reformation had become imperative. At the same time he implored the princes of Germany to withdraw their protection from Luther, and to cause the Edict of Worms to be enforced against him.

Hadrian was willing that a general council should be called for the reform of the Church, but this was opposed by the cardinals, and the Pope found that at every step he took towards reform he was assailed with difficulties. He soon made himself very unpopular in Rome, where he was accused of avarice. He ceased to consult the cardinals, and attempted to govern with the help of a few intimate friends, chief among whom was his Master of Requests, Wilhelm Enkenvoert, a Fleming.

In August 1523 Hadrian VI became seriously ill. The cardinals hastened to the dying Pope in order to urge him to deliver up the papal treasure. But he assured them that his sole wealth was one thousand ducats. They, however, refused to believe this, and treated him with the greatest indignity. On his death-bed he created Enkenvoert a cardinal, the sole addition which Hadrian made to the sacred college. He died on 14th September 1423, at the age of sixty-four, worn out with sorrow and care. He was buried temporarily in the chapel of St. Andrew, in St. Peter's, but his remains were afterwards conveyed to Sta. Maria dell' Anima, the German national church, where Cardinal Enkenvoert caused a monument to be erected to his memory.

CCXX. CLEMENT VII, A.D. 1523-1534

Emperor: CHARLES V, 1519-1558

THE conclave assembled in the Sistine chapel on 1st October 1523, but not until 19th November did the cardinals come to a decision about the prelate to be elected pope. On that date they announced that their choice had fallen on Giulio de' Medici, the posthumous and illegitimate son of Giuliano de' Medici, who had been murdered in Florence in the pontificate of Sixtus IV (*vide* p. 396). He had for some years previous to his elevation occupied a prominent position in the Roman Church, and was made Cardinal-deacon of Sta. Maria in Dominica, by his cousin Leo X. He took the name of Clement VII, and was consecrated on the day following his election.

Clement was a tall, handsome man of forty-five, and possessed considerable energy and natural ability. Unlike his predecessor, he was favourably disposed towards artists and men of letters, and his election caused great rejoicing in Rome.

The Emperor Charles V had supported the election of Clement, but as the latter dreaded the increasing power of Charles in Italy, he hesitated to join the imperialists against the French, and at first attempted to maintain a neutral attitude. In 1525, however, his fear of the Emperor caused him to make an alliance with Francis I of France, who shortly afterwards suffered a severe defeat at the battle of Pavia, and was taken prisoner by the imperialists. On news of this defeat reaching Rome, the Colonna rose in revolt against the Pope, who was forced to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo, while the Vatican and St. Peter's were sacked and plundered by his enemies.

After consenting to make the most humiliating terms with the Emperor, Francis I was released from his captivity, but, as he did not keep the promises he had made, the war continued. In May 1256 Pope Clement VII openly declared himself hostile to the imperial interests, and joined a league with France, Henry VIII, and certain Italian states against Charles. This induced the Colonna to rise again against the Pope, who was at length forced to make an alliance with the Emperor. But as Clement continued to treat secretly with Francis I, and to

make war on the Colonna, the Emperor determined to crush the papal power in Italy.

Meantime the reformed doctrines continued to spread rapidly in Germany. At a Diet held at Spires in 1526 the party hostile to the papal interests was in the majority. It was agreed that the Edict of Worms against the reformers should be suspended until a general council had met.

In May 1527 an imperial army of thirty thousand men advanced on Rome. Pope Clement took refuge in St. Angelo, while the Romans made a brave but hopeless resistance. After a desperate struggle the city capitulated, and on 7th May the imperial army entered by the Ponte Sisto. Six thousand of the inhabitants were put to the sword, the cardinals tortured till they delivered up their possessions, the churches and houses ruthlessly sacked and burnt. No heathen hordes ever behaved with greater barbarity than did the imperial troops. Many valuable works of art were destroyed, and scholars and artists reduced to beggary. An unsuccessful attempt was made to release the Pope by an army sent by his allies under the leadership of the Duke of Urbino. But the Duke was forced to retreat, leaving Clement to his fate. Pestilence broke out among the prisoners in the Castle of St. Angelo, and two of the cardinals died. The Pope was reduced to the greatest straits, and in June 1527 concluded a humiliating treaty with the imperial envoy, promising to surrender the estates of the Church to Charles V, and to pay the sum of 400,000 ducats.

Charles was in no hurry to release the Pope, whom he desired to make an instrument in his hands for the reformation of the Church on a Catholic basis. Several European powers, however, demanded his release, and Charles abandoned his project of attempting to secularize the estates of the Church. Clement at length received permission to leave St. Angelo, and retired to Orvieto, from whence he corresponded with Charles, urging him to restore the papal authority. Clement, however, refused to summon a general council, although the Emperor earnestly desired that this should be done.

On 6th October 1528 Pope Clement VII returned to Rome, escorted by a body-guard of Swiss and imperial troops. Another treaty was soon afterwards signed between the Pope and Charles V. Clement promised to bestow on Charles the imperial crown, while Charles engaged to crush the Reformation in Germany and to restore the Medici to Florence. Clement and Charles afterwards met at Bologna, where this

treaty was confirmed, and where Charles was crowned Emperor by the Pope on 24th February 1530.

At another Diet held at Spires in 1530 the resolutions passed at the previous Diet were revoked, and all changes in religious worship were declared unlawful. The minority drew up a protest against this decree, and hence arose the designation of Protestants.

In October 1531 Pope Clement VII went to Marseilles, where he solemnized a marriage between Catharine de' Medici, the daughter of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and Henry of Orleans, second son of Francis I. Although the Emperor had been greatly opposed to this alliance, he had been powerless to prevent it. The last years of Pope Clement's life were troubled by the breach which arose between England and the Roman see. Clement refused to sanction Henry's divorce from Queen Katharine of Aragon both on religious grounds, and because such a step would have involved a rupture with the Emperor, who was the nephew of Katharine. In 1531 Henry VIII declared himself supreme head of the Church of England, which was henceforth, except during the short reign of his daughter Mary, to be free from all papal control.

Clement VII, one of the most unfortunate of popes, died in Rome on 25th September 1534. He was buried in St. Peter's, but his remains were afterwards conveyed to the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva, and placed beside those of his cousin, Leo X. (*Vide* F. Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," Eng. trans., p. 107.)

CCXXI. PAUL III, A.D. 1534-1549

Emperor: CHARLES V, 1519-1558

ALEXANDER FARNESE, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, was elected pope by the College of Cardinals, on 13th October 1534. He belonged to a noble Roman family who had estates at Carino, in Tuscany, where he was born. After studying in Florence, where he was a pupil of the famous Pomponius Laetus, he attached himself to the literary and artistic circle of the Medici. He afterwards went to Rome, and was made Protonotary of the Church by Innocent VIII, by whom also several important benefices were bestowed on him. At this time he acknowledged a son and daughter, both illegitimate.

Pope Paul III was a prelate of considerable ability, and in the difficult crisis which he was called on to face in the history of the Church he showed his wisdom by elevating to the cardinalate a number of the most distinguished and devout churchmen in Christendom, among them Reginald Pole, who was of the blood royal of England. This pontificate was marked by the commencement of the movement which is known as the counter-Reformation.

Ignatius Loyola, a noble Spanish knight, founded the Company or Order of Jesus, which was destined to play such a conspicuous part in the history of the Church. In addition to the usual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, this order added a fourth, namely, implicit obedience to the Pope. The Inquisition was also more firmly established in Rome during this pontificate, and the index for the censure of heretical writings drawn up.

Through the efforts of Pope Paul III a meeting was arranged at Nice between the Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France. The Pope was present at this meeting, and succeeded in persuading the princes to conclude a truce of ten years. A marriage was also privately arranged between Ottavio Farnese, the Pope's grandson, and Margaret, the illegitimate daughter of Charles V. The Pope afterwards bestowed the ecclesiastical territories of Parma and Piacenza on his son, Piero Luigi. One of his nephews, Alexander Farnese, was made a cardinal, and was employed on several embassies to the Emperor.

In 1538 Paul III published a bull in which he declared Henry VIII of England to be deposed and excommunicated, and placed his kingdom under an interdict. Meanwhile the Protestant princes of Germany had united in the League of Schmalkalden, by which they pledged themselves to defend the Protestant form of worship. To dissolve this league the Pope and Emperor united their arms against the Protestants. Later, however, the Pope recalled his troops from the imperial army, as he was offended by the Emperor's attempts to treat with the Protestants.

The project of the Emperor to summon a general council to dealwith the religious difficulties had been hitherto frustrated by the popes. But at length a council assembled at Trent in December 1545. At this council the Catholic party predominated, and the Protestants, though invited, refused to attend. The Pope was represented by Cardinals Del Monte and Pole. Disputes took place as to whether doctrine or reform was to be first con-

sidered, the Catholic party desiring to discuss doctrine, while the imperial representatives urged the consideration of reform. It was at length agreed that doctrine and reform should be considered in alternate sessions. The reluctance of the papal representatives to deal with reform exasperated the Emperor, and the Pope, fearing that decrees might be passed dangerous to the papal interests, transferred the council to Bologna in 1547, on the pretext that a plague had broken out in Trent. Two years later he suspended the meetings of the council.

The Emperor had succeeded in dissolving the League of Schmalkalden by bringing over to his side Maurice, Duke of Saxony, one of the Protestant princes. Maurice, without surrendering his religious beliefs, became the ally of the Emperor, who promised him the electorate of Saxony. With his help Charles defeated John Frederick of Saxony, at the battle of Muhlberg, in 1547, and took him prisoner.

The Emperor was, however, still anxious to become reconciled with his Protestant subjects in order to unite them against the Turks and other enemies who threatened him. In 1548 he caused a proposal of compromise known as the "Augsburg Interim" to be drawn up. The marriage of priests and the cup to the laity was to be permitted, but the Roman doctrine, worship, and government were to be restored. The Interim was a complete failure, for it pleased neither Catholics nor Protestants, and roused the Pope to the greatest indignation. Paul III then attempted to form a league with France, Switzerland, and Venice against the Emperor.

Pope Paul continued the work of restoring and beautifying Rome which had been begun by his predecessors. At his order the famous Farnese Palace was begun, and the Sala Regia in the Vatican constructed. He engaged Michael Angelo to paint his celebrated "Last Judgment," and to continue his work in St. Peter's.

Piero Luigi, Pope Paul's son was assassinated in 1549, and the Pope then desired that the duchies of Parma and Piacenza should revert to the Church. The Emperor, however, claimed the duchies for his son-in-law, Ottavio Farnese, but the Pope refused to give them up. This led to a family quarrel between the Pope and his grandsons, which greatly distressed the Pope, and is said to have hastened his death. He died on 10th November 1549, at the age of eighty-two, and was buried in St. Peter's. His death caused deep sorrow in Rome, where he had been greatly beloved.

CCXXII. JULIUS III, A.D. 1550-1555

Emperor: CHARLES V, 1519-1558

THE conclave assembled on 28th November 1549 for the election of a new pope, but not until 7th February 1550 did the cardinals announce that their choice had fallen on Cardinal Giovanni Maria del Monte. He was the son of a Roman jurist, whose family had come originally from Tuscany. After studying theology at Perugia and Siena, he had held several important benefices and legations. In the pontificate of Clement VII he had been one of the hostages given by that pope to the imperialists after the sack of Rome, and had narrowly escaped execution. By Pope Paul III he was appointed Cardinal-bishop of Palestrina, and was chosen to preside at the Council of Trent, which he opened formally with a speech on 13th December 1545. At this council he strongly supported the papal interests against the Emperor Charles V, with whom he consequently came in conflict. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Julius III, in memory of his early patron, Julius II, whose chamberlain he had been.

One of the first acts of Julius III was to surrender Parma to Ottavio Farnese. (*Vide* Paul III.) The Emperor, however, claimed Piacenza for himself, and Ottavio obtained help from France against Charles. In the war which followed Pope Julius III supported the Emperor, and declared Ottavio to be deprived of the duchies. Later, however, the success of the French in Northern Italy induced the Pope to make a treaty of peace with them. In April 1552 it was agreed that France should remain in peaceful possession of Parma for two years.

In November 1550 the Pope issued a bull, in which he ordered the Council of Trent to resume its sessions, but it was again suspended in April 1552, when war broke out between the Emperor and Maurice of Saxony. The policy adopted by the Emperor towards the Protestants had made him very unpopular. In 1552 Maurice of Saxony turned against him, and attempted to take him prisoner at Innsbrück. Charles escaped, but from henceforth his power was virtually at an end.

After the suspension of the council, Pope Julius retired to the Villa Giulia, which he had caused to be constructed near the Porta del Popolo, and from henceforth until the end of his pontificate took little share in the affairs of Church or State. He spent his days in peaceful retirement, and in enter-

taining his friends. Some writers accuse him of promoting unworthy favourites to the cardinalate, and of unduly advancing the interests of his own relatives. During this pontificate the Catholic religion was temporarily restored in England, under Mary Tudor. Julius sent Cardinal Pole to that country as legate, and in February 1555 an embassy was despatched to Rome by the English Parliament to inform the Pope that England had again formally acknowledged the papal supremacy. But before this embassy reached Rome the Pope was dead. Julius III was a warm supporter of the Jesuits, and in 1552 established the Collegium Germanicum for the conversion of Germany. He died in Rome on 23rd March 1555, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CCXXIII. MARCELLUS II, A.D. 1555

Emperor: CHARLES V, 1519-1558

ON 11th April 1555 Marcello Cervino, Cardinal-priest of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, a native of Monte Fano in the March of Ancona, was elected Bishop of Rome. He was the son of Richard Cervino, who had been apostolic treasurer of the March of Ancona. As one of the most distinguished churchmen in Italy he had been chosen by Pope Paul III to accompany Cardinals del Monte and Pole to the Council of Trent, and had taken a prominent part in the proceedings of that assembly during its early sessions. Contrary to custom he did not change his name on his elevation to the papacy, but called himself Marcellus II.

His election had been brought about by the more strictly religious party, for he was a prelate of blameless life, and earnestly bent on bringing about a thorough reform within the Church. One of his first acts was to draw up a scheme of the improvements which he had planned to make in ecclesiastical institutions. He also retrenched the expenditure at the papal court, and forbade his relatives to approach Rome.

Marcellus II, however, died on 30th April 1555, after a pontificate of less than one month, having succumbed, according to some accounts, to a fever brought on through overtaxing his strength. He was buried in St. Peter's.

CCXXIV. PAUL IV, A.D. 1555-1559

Emperors: CHARLES V, 1519-1558; FERDINAND I, 1558-1564

GIOVANNI PIETRO CARAFFA, who was descended from a noble family of Naples, was elected pope on 23rd May 1555. At the time of his elevation to the papacy he was seventy-nine, and had for many years been one of the most distinguished churchmen in Italy. In 1524, while holding the Archbishopric of Brindisi and the Bishopric of Chieti, he had resigned both, and in conjunction with Gaetano da Thiene had founded an order called the Theatines, which had for its object the extinction of heresy and the reformation of the clergy. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Paul IV, in memory of his patron, Paul III, by whom he had been created Cardinal-bishop of Ostia.

The new pope belonged to the strictly religious party within the Church, and was deeply in earnest about reform. But the harshness and severity with which he carried out his amendments won for him the hatred of the Romans. Many abuses which had been profitable to the Church were abolished by him, and he caused the services to be conducted with greater pomp and reverence. He greatly favoured the Inquisition, which he re-established more firmly in Rome. Before this tribunal nobles and even prelates were frequently summoned. Shortly before Pope Paul's death, Cardinals Morone and Foscherari were arrested and imprisoned on a charge of heresy. The haughty and impetuous temperament of the Pope made him prone to quarrel even with his supporters.

At a Diet held at Augsburg in September 1555, the principle, "cujus regio ejus religio," was adopted, by which each ruler might choose between the Catholic faith and the Lutheran. The decision of the ruler was to bind all his subjects, but those who professed another religion might be permitted to leave the country. All prelates who became Protestant were to lose their possessions. The Pope expressed great dissatisfaction with this arrangement, which he declared to be a compact with heresy.

The policy of Pope Paul IV was governed by his extreme hatred for the Emperor and for the Spaniards. In 1558 Charles V, worn out by illness and by the troubles of his reign, abdicated the imperial throne in favour of his brother Ferdinand. His other possessions, including Spain (with

America), the Netherlands, Sicily and Naples, he surrendered to his son, Philip II. Pope Paul condemned this abdication, and refused to recognize Ferdinand, who as early as 1531 had been chosen King of the Romans.

The Pope had determined to exterminate the Colonna family, but they were protected by the Duke of Alva, who was then Viceroy of Naples. This provoked the Pope to invite the French to Italy, to take possession of Naples. In the war which followed, the Pope accepted the aid of the Swiss and of Protestant troops. But the victories of the Spaniards at St. Quentin and Gravelines drove the French from Italy, and forced the Pope to make peace with Spain. The Duke of Alva, who was a good Catholic, came to Rome, and kissed the foot of the conquered Pope. It was agreed that the cities and fortresses seized by the Spaniards should be restored to the Church.

Paul IV at first determined to avoid nepotism, but his nephews had induced him to promote them by offering to assist him against Spain. One nephew, Carlo Caraffa, had been promoted to the rank of cardinal, and the possessions of the Colonna family were afterwards divided between two other nephews, the elder being made Duke of Palliano, and the younger Marquis of Montebello. In 1559 the Pope's nephews were accused of intriguing with persons of evil reputation. At a consistory held on 27th January 1560, the Pope denounced the evil lives of his nephews, deprived them of all their possessions, and condemned them and their families to perpetual banishment from Rome.

Pope Paul IV died on 18th August 1559. On hearing of his death the Roman people, who had hated him, raised a tumult and struck off the head of a statue which had been erected in his honour. They also stormed the prison of the Inquisition and released all the prisoners.

Paul IV was buried in St. Peter's. In 1566 his remains were transferred to the Dominican church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, by order of Pius V.

CCXXV. PIUS IV, 1560-1565

Emperors: FERDINAND I, 1558-1564; MAXIMILIAN II, 1564-1576

AFTER the death of Paul IV the Roman see remained vacant for four months, owing to the disputes of contending factions. It was not until 28th December 1559 that

the cardinals agreed to choose as pope, Giovanni Angelo de' Medici, Cardinal-priest of St. Prisca He was of obscure birth, being the son of a certain Bernardino, a native of Milan, who had acquired a small property by farming the taxes, and who is said to have been remotely related to the famous Florentine family of Medici. After practising law, Giovanni entered the Church, and was employed on several important missions to Germany and Hungary. By Paul III he was raised to the cardinalate. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Pius IV, and was consecrated on 6th January 1560.

Being of a naturally affable and peace-loving disposition, Pius IV was prepared to reverse the policy of his predecessor, with whom he had been on unfriendly terms. He caused the nephews of the late pope to be brought to trial (*vide* Paul IV), on serious charges, which included forgery, robbery, and murder. They were condemned to death and executed. Pius IV was not guilty of nepotism, but he raised to the cardinalate one nephew, the able and saintly Carlo Borromeo, who devoted his life to the service of the Church.

At the conclave each of the cardinals had pledged himself, if elected pope, to reassemble the council. Pius IV was also urged to do so by all the Catholic princes of Europe. Accordingly the council re-assembled at Trent for the third time on 18th January 1562, and continued to sit until 3rd December 1563, when it held its twenty-fifth and last session.

Owing to the aggressive policy adopted towards the Empire and Spain by the predecessor of Pius IV, many disputes arose in the council with the imperial and Spanish representatives. The French prelates also refused to come to any agreement with regard to the reforms to be adopted. Pope Pius IV was, however, wise enough to adopt conciliatory methods in dealing with the Emperor and Philip II. Cardinal Morone, who had been appointed to preside at the council, was sent to Innsbrück to hold an interview with the Emperor Ferdinand. An amicable understanding was thus reached, certain ecclesiastical privileges being granted to Germany, while Ferdinand withdrew many of the demands which he had at first made. Spain and France were also won over to support the Pope, and the council was thus able to adopt measures favourable to the Apostolic see.

The council failed completely to heal the Protestant schism, for the Protestants refused from the first to be bound by its decrees. But while the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church

thus became limited, its forces were concentrated, and its energies braced through the important internal reforms decreed by the Council of Trent.

After the dissolution of the council, Pius IV devoted himself during the remainder of his pontificate to beautifying Rome and to improving the religious services. Before his death he inclined to favour France; and sent troops to assist that government against the Huguenots.

Pius IV died of fever on 10th December 1565, after an illness of eight days, and was buried in St. Peter's. In 1583 his remains were transferred to the church of Sta. Maria degli Angeli, formerly a portion of the Baths of Diocletian, which he had consecrated.

CCXXVI. PIUS V, A.D. 1566-1572

Emperor: MAXIMILIAN I, 1564-1576

MICHELE GHISLIERI, a native of Bosco, near Alessandria, the son of humble parents, was elected supreme pontiff on 7th January 1566. He had become a Dominican friar at the age of fourteen, and the severe discipline of his early training left its mark on his character to the end of his life. By Paul IV he had been made Bishop of Nepi and Sutri, Cardinal of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, and Grand Inquisitor. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Pius V.

The new Pope was a prelate of earnest piety. He spent much time in the hospitals by the bedside of the dying, and daily washed the feet of poor persons who came to him. He laboured to assist the Catholics against the Protestant princes of France and Germany. His pontificate was marked by the increasing activity of the Inquisition. Before his death heresy was almost completely eradicated in Italy, and the heretics condemned by the inquisitory tribunal after 1572 were chiefly foreigners.

The measures adopted by Philip II of Spain towards heretics were warmly approved by Pius V, and he remonstrated with the Emperor Maximilian for showing tolerance towards Protestants. On 25th February 1570 he issued his famous bull, "Regnans in Excelsis," in which he excommunicated Queen Elizabeth and released all her subjects from their allegiance to her.

By his energetic efforts Pius V succeeded in uniting the

navies of Spain and Venice with some papal galleys against the Turks. After receiving the papal blessing this fleet sailed under command of Don Juan of Austria. The result of the expedition was a great victory gained over the Turks at Lepanto on 7th October 1571.

Pius V was contemplating the formation of an alliance of all Christian Europe against the Turks when he died of gravel on 1st May 1572. He was buried in the chapel of St. Andrew in St. Peter's. This Pope was beatified by Clement X in 1672, and canonized by Clement XI in 1712. His festival is celebrated on 5th May.

CCXXVII. GREGORY XIII, A.D. 1572-1585

Emperors: MAXIMILIAN II, 1564-1576; RUDOLF II, 1576-1612

HUGO BUONCOMPAGNO, a native of Bologna, was elected Pope by the College of Cardinals on 13th May 1572. Having attained eminence as a jurist, he had been sent in that capacity to the Council of Trent by Paul III. By Julius III he was made Bishop of Viesti, and papal legate to the Campagna. In 1564 Pius IV created him Cardinal-priest of St. Sixtus and sent him as legate to Spain. On his elevation to the Papacy he took the name of Gregory XIII. Although seventy years of age, he was strong and full of energy.

Although Gregory was disposed to be less severe than his predecessor, being possessed of a naturally mild disposition, he permitted himself to be ruled by the strictly religious party which then governed the church. He was accordingly disinclined to favour his relations. He had an illegitimate son, Giacomo, born before his father entered the church. Giacomo was made governor of the Castle of St. Angelo and Gonfalonier of the Church, but the Pope refused him higher promotion, although the King of Spain made him a general of his troops, and Venice enrolled him among its nobility. Two nephews of the Pope, who happened to be worthy of the office were made cardinals, but to a third nephew who sought the same honour it was refused.

On receiving news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris (23rd August 1572), Pope Gregory ordered a "Te Deum" to be sung in Rome, and the occasion celebrated with other signs of rejoicing. He also caused a medal to be struck in commemoration of the event. He sent sums of money to assist

Philip II of Spain in his war in the Netherlands, and supported the Catholic League in France. Gregory also attempted, but without success, to rouse Spain and Venice against the Turks, but the Venetians concluded a treaty of peace with the Sultan.

One of the means taken by Gregory to prevent the spread of the Protestant doctrines was to provide the clergy with a thorough training in theology. For this purpose he founded more than twenty colleges in Rome and Italy. By his orders a reform of the calendar was accomplished, and was approved by all the Catholic world. The new style of reckoning came in force in October 1582, but was not adopted in England until 1752. Among his public works were the erection of the magnificent Gregorian chapel in St. Peter's, the fountains in the Piazza Navona, and the Quirinal Palace.

In order to meet the expenses incurred by his wars and public works Gregory confiscated a large number of baronial estates on various pretexts. This incited the nobles and peasantry to revolt against the papal government, and the direst confusion and anarchy reigned not only in the provinces, but even in Rome. Troops of bandits who were protected by the nobles infested the country, and the Pope was powerless against them.

While this confusion still prevailed Pope Gregory died of quinsy on 10th April 1585, at the age of eighty-three. He was buried in St. Peter's, where a magnificent monument erected to his memory in 1723, by Cardinal Buoncompagno, may be seen.

CCXXVIII. SIXTUS V, A.D. 1585-1590

Emperor: RUDOLF II, 1576-1612

FELICE PERETTI, Cardinal of St. Jerome, was elevated to the papal chair on 24th April 1585. He was a native of Grottamara in the March of Ancona, the son of a vine-dresser named Piergentili, and is said to have been reared in extreme poverty. According to some accounts he was engaged as a swine-herd when his intelligence attracted the attention of a Franciscan friar, who took him to a school of that order. There he received an excellent education, and became a friar. By Paul IV he was made inquisitor-general to Venice, and was afterwards attached to the legation which visited Spain under the leadership of Cardinal Buoncompagno. (*Vide* Gregory XIII.)

By Pius V he was made apostolic vicar of his order, and afterwards cardinal. During the pontificate of Gregory XIII, with whom he was on unfriendly terms, he lived in retirement occupying himself in literary pursuits, and in the care of his estates. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Sixtus V.

Pope Sixtus found the papal states infested with robbers and assassins, and at once took the most rigorous measures to restore order. Though obstinate and sometimes stern, Sixtus had lofty ideals, and often achieved success by his energy and determination. Having driven the bandits from his dominions, he next turned his attention to the finances and administration of the Church. By imposing new taxes, and selling important offices, he soon accumulated large sums to be reserved for a crusade, or in case of emergencies. Part of this was, however, spent on public works, and no pope ever did more for Rome than Sixtus V. The completion of the dome of St. Peter's, the chapel of the *Praesepe* in Sta. Maria Maggiore, additions and repairs to St. Peter's, the Vatican, the Lateran, and the Quirinal palaces, and a hospital for the aged near Ponte Sisto were among his works. There is said to be scarcely an important thoroughfare in Rome that cannot show some monument of this Pope's munificence.

He caused four famous obelisks, which for many years had lain under ground to be raised at great expense, and erected in the piazzas of St. Peter's, St. John Lateran, Sta. Maria Maggiore and Sta. Maria del Popolo. Nine hundred men were employed for nearly a year in carrying out this undertaking. (*Cf.* Ranke, "Hist. of the Popes," Bohn trans., vol. i, p. 330.)

Sixtus had no veneration for the ruins of ancient Rome, which he regarded as memorials of paganism, and many valuable antiquities, including the Septizonium of Severus, were destroyed by his orders, the stones being employed in the erection of his new buildings. But his most important work was the collecting of many streams of water into one, and conveying them from a distance of twenty-two miles to Rome, by means of a new aqueduct, called by his own name, the Acqua Felice.

The number of cardinals was limited by Sixtus V to seventy, while the number of congregations to deal with special works was doubled. By his orders a revision of the Vulgate was begun.

The Jesuits were looked upon by Sixtus with little favour, and, although his position forced him to subsidize the Catholic League, he regarded it with misgiving. In the policy which he adopted towards France, Sixtus has been accused of duplicity, but his aim throughout seems to have been to safeguard the Catholic religion in that country.

On 10th September 1585, Sixtus issued a bull of excommunication against Henry of Navarre, and his brother the Prince of Condé, denouncing them as heretics, and declaring them to be deprived of their estates and of all right to the succession. Later, however, the prospect of Henry's conversion inclined the Pope to support him, although Henry failed to fulfil these hopes during the lifetime of Sixtus. Towards the close of his pontificate the Pope's irresolute attitude made for him many enemies, and the bandits again appeared in Italy.

Pope Sixtus denounced Elizabeth in a public consistory as the "English Jezebel," for the execution of Mary of Scotland, and made a treaty with Philip of Spain by which he promised to subsidize the expedition of the "Invincible Armada" in the event of its being successful.

Sixtus, however, is said to have declared on more than one occasion that, in spite of the attitude which he was compelled to adopt towards them, Henry of Navarre and Elizabeth of England were the only Sovereigns in Europe for whom he had any esteem. After the failure of the Armada he formed a design of employing his arms for the conquest of Naples, but death prevented him from carrying this out. He raised his sister Camilla to the rank of a princess, and made one of her grandsons a cardinal, bestowing on him great wealth. To the other grandson he left several lordships.

Pope Sixtus V died on 27th August 1590, and was buried in Sta. Maria Maggiore, where a magnificent monument erected to his memory may be seen. "The kneeling statue with folded hands, a powerful work of Vasoldo, shows an ugly, powerful, thick-set figure; the face is firm and massive, and indeed behind the broad forehead lay an ample understanding and a will of iron. His eyes were small and lively, his eyebrows thick and black, his beard white and flowing." (*Vide* F. Gregorovius, "The Tombs of the Popes," English trans., p. 126.)

CCXXIX. URBAN VII, A.D. 1590

Emperor: RUDOLF II, 1576-1612

ON 15th September 1590 Giovanni Battista Castagna was elected Pope by the party in the Curia which had been opposed to Sixtus V. He was born in Rome, but was the son of Cosmo Castagna, a native of Genoa. His youth had been devoted to the study of civil and canon law. He had been sent as deputy to the Council of Trent, and as papal nuncio to Spain, and by Gregory XIII was made Cardinal of St. Marcellus. At his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Urban VII.

Urban was an aged prelate of gentle disposition and blameless life, and was very charitable to the poor. Three days after his elevation he was attacked by fever, and died on 27th September 1590, after a pontificate of twelve days. He was buried in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, where a large monument erected to his memory may be seen.

CCXXX. GREGORY XIV, A.D. 1590-1591

Emperor: RUDOLF II, 1576-1612

AFTER a protracted conclave, which lasted more than two months, owing to disputes of contending factions, Nicolo Sfondrati, Cardinal-priest of St. Cecilia, was elected Pope on 5th December, 1590. He was the son of Francesco, a senator of Milan, who, after the death of his wife, had been created a cardinal. After studying at Perugia and Bologna, Nicolo was made Bishop of Cremona in 1560. He was present at the final sessions of the Council of Trent, and was created a cardinal by Gregory XIII. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Gregory XIV.

Gregory was a devout prelate of blameless life, rigid in his observance of fasts and of the offices of divine worship. Being a native of Milan, he was consequently a subject of the King of Spain, and owed his elevation to the papacy to the influence of that King. One of his first acts was therefore to declare himself on the side of the Catholic League against Henry of Navarre. Although Henry had declared his readiness to become a Catholic, he had not yet fulfilled his promise in this

respect. Gregory XIV therefore sent papal troops to assist the Catholic League and Spain against Henry. The money which had been accumulated by Sixtus V was devoted by Gregory to this war, and he sent a subsidy of 15,000 scudi monthly to assist the Parisians against Henry. The Pope also renewed the excommunication of Henry (*vide* Sixtus V), and exhorted all the people of France to withdraw their allegiance from him, under pain of heavy penalties.

In the midst of these undertakings Pope Gregory XIV died, on 15th October 1591, after a pontificate of ten months. He was buried in St. Peter's.

CCXXXI. INNOCENT IX, A.D. 1591

Emperor: RUDOLF II, 1576-1612

GIOVANNI ANTONIO FACCINETTO, a native of Bologna, was elected Pope on 29th October 1591. After graduating in jurisprudence and law at Bologna he had proceeded to Rome, where he served as secretary first to Cardinal Ardinghelli, and afterwards to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. In 1560 he was made Bishop of Nicastro, in Calabria, and by Pius V was sent as legate to Venice. He was afterwards made patriarch of Jerusalem, and in 1583 was created Cardinal of the Quattro Coronati. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Innocent IX.

As he owed his election to the influence of the Spanish party, he supported Philip of Spain and the Catholic League against Henry IV of France. But he was aged and in feeble health, and spent most of his short pontificate in bed. From thence he dictated letters concerning the war. One letter is extant in which he urges Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to press forward with the papal army to relieve Rouen.

Pope Innocent IX died on 30th December 1591, after a pontificate of two months, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CCXXXII. CLEMENT VIII, A.D. 1592-1605

Emperor: RUDOLF II, 1576-1612

IPPOLITO ALDOBRANDINI, Cardinal-priest of St. Pancras, was elected supreme Pontiff on 20th January, 1592. His father, Salvestro Aldobrandini, belonged to a distinguished Florentine family who, having incurred the enmity

of the Medici, had been banished from Florence. Ippolito was the youngest of five distinguished sons, and was born at Fano, where his father was papal governor. After studying jurisprudence under the direction of his father, he entered the Church, and was advanced to several important ecclesiastical offices. In 1585 he was created a cardinal by Sixtus V, who also sent him on a mission to Poland. There his negotiations were successful in obtaining the release from imprisonment of the Archduke Maximilian, who had been an unsuccessful claimant to the throne of Poland. This won for him the favour of the House of Austria. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Clement VIII.

The newly elected pope, who was fifty-six at the time of his elevation, was an able and experienced prelate of blameless life. Although not hostile to Philip II, Clement desired to liberate the papacy from undue subservience to Spain. In 1593 Henry of Navarre abjured Protestantism, and, having declared himself a Catholic, sought to obtain absolution from the excommunication pronounced against him by Sixtus V. Pope Clement hesitated, however, to grant this absolution, knowing that Spain was opposed to a reconciliation between Henry and the Apostolic see. But Henry had no sooner declared himself a Catholic than many of his former enemies went over to his side, and he was acknowledged by all as lawful King of France. The powerful position which Henry thus attained decided the Pope to absolve him, in spite of the protests of Philip II. The absolution was pronounced publicly by the Pope in front of the church of St. Peter on 17th December 1595.

In 1597 Alfonso II, D'Este, Duke of Ferrara, died, leaving his duchy to his illegitimate son, Caesar. Pope Clement refused to recognize the claims of Caesar, and declared that Ferrara had reverted to the Church on the death of Alfonso. Both sides took up arms, but on learning that Henry IV of France had declared his readiness to support the Pope, Caesar decided that further resistance was useless, and renounced all his rights to Ferrara. The duchy then became the property of the Apostolic see.

In May 1598 Pope Clement was instrumental in bringing about the treaty of peace between France and Spain, which was concluded at Vervins. The Jesuits had been banished from France on a charge of intriguing with Spain against the French Government. Pope Clement now intervened on their

behalf, and induced Henry IV to permit them to return to France. A doctrinal controversy arose between the Jesuits and the Dominicans during this pontificate. The Pope, after hearing both sides, refused to pronounce any definite opinion on the subject, as he feared to offend the Spaniards, who now supported the Jesuits against the Dominicans and the French.

Clement VIII made three of his nephews cardinals. To one of these, Pietro Aldobrandini, the Pope, as he advanced in years, gradually surrendered the control of ecclesiastical affairs. Among several distinguished prelates raised by Clement VIII to the cardinalate was the famous Baronius, who was also made the Pope's confessor.

Pope Clement seems to have nourished hopes that the Catholic religion might be restored in England, and entered into a lengthy correspondence with James I. The Pope soon found, however, that James I was not in earnest with regard to the conversion of his kingdom.

Pope Clement VIII laboured faithfully to restore discipline and abolish abuses in the churches, monasteries, and educational institutions in Rome, all of which he visited in person. He founded the Collegium Clementinum for the education of the sons of the wealthy classes, and also a Scots' college for the training of missionaries to Scotland. The revised edition of the Vulgate, begun under Sixtus V, was finished during this pontificate, and the Breviary, Missal, and Pontifical revised and improved. The Forty Hours Devotion was also instituted by Clement.

Clement VIII died on 5th March 1605, and was buried in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore. The gorgeous monument there to be seen was erected to his memory by the Borghesi family, who succeeded the Aldobrandini in the female line. (*Vide* F. Gregorovius, "The Tombs of the Popes," English trans., p. 127.)

CCXXXIII. LEO XI, A.D. 1605

Emperor: RUDOLF II, 1576-1612

ON 1st April 1605 the cardinals elected as pope Alexander Octavian de' Medici, of Florence. He was a grandson of Lucrezia de' Medici, the sister of Leo X, and being consequently a near relative of the Queen of France, his election was due to the influence of the French party which

now began to predominate in the Church. His mother had been opposed to his entering the Church, and had sent him to the Court of Cosmo de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany. After his mother's death, however, he entered the priesthood, and was made Bishop of Pistoia in 1573. In the following year he was made Archbishop of Florence and cardinal by Pope Gregory XIII. As legate to France he is said to have had considerable influence in restoring the Catholic religion at the Court of Henry IV. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Leo XI.

He was then seventy years of age, and the sense of the burden imposed on him seems to have quenched his already failing strength. He died on 26th April 1605, after a pontificate of less than a month, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CCXXXIV. PAUL V, A.D. 1605-1621

Emperors: RUDOLF II, 1576-1612; MATTHIAS, 1612-1619; FERDINAND II, 1619-1637

CAMILLO BORGHESE, a native of Rome, but descended from a noble family of Siena, was elected pope by the College of Cardinals on 16th May 1605. After studying law at Perugia and Padua, he had embraced the legal profession, and held successively the offices of consistory advocate, papal abbreviator, vicar of Sta. Maria Maggiore, and legate to Bologna. After his return from a successful mission to Spain in June 1596, he was created Cardinal of St. Eusebius by Clement VIII. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Paul V.

Paul V held exalted ideas of the papal prerogative, and manifested an indefatigable zeal in maintaining the rights of his see. He thus provoked disputes, chiefly concerning Church territories, with several Italian states. While most of these states eventually yielded to the Pope, Venice determined to resist him. This republic had forbidden all recourse to Rome for the judgement of disputed cases, required the clergy to pay taxes, and demanded that its ecclesiastical benefices should be bestowed on natives of Venice. The friction was further increased between the Venetians and the Roman see when the Pope prohibited the circulation of a large number of books issued by the Venetian printing press, of which the trade had been considerable.

In the dispute which arose between Paul V and the Vene-

tians, the side of the latter was brilliantly advocated by Fra Paolo Sarpi, Counsellor of State to the Republic, and the side of the Pope by the famous cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine. On 17th April 1606 Paul V excommunicated the Doge and Senate of Venice with their advisers, and placed the republic under an interdict. The Venetians treated this sentence with contempt, and Paul V prepared to take arms against them. A reconciliation was, however, effected through the mediation of Henry IV of France, both sides making certain concessions.

After the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot the English Catholics were severely treated, and were required to take a special oath of allegiance to James I. Pope Paul V forbade them to take this oath, and a prolonged literary controversy ensued.

Paul V bestowed great wealth on his relatives of the Borghese family, who afterwards became very powerful, and were allied by marriage with the Bonapartes. This Pope laboured to improve and beautify Rome, and brought together a famous collection of art treasures. During his pontificate the new church of St. Peter was at length completed, the aqueduct of Augustus and Trajan (Aqua Alsietina) restored and renamed Acqua Paola, the Quirinal and Vatican palaces enlarged, the church of Sta. Francesca Romana restored, and the Borghese chapel erected in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore. (*Vide* Artaud de Montor, "Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains," vol. v, pp. 217-218.)

In 1618 the Thirty Years' War began. Paul V acknowledged Ferdinand II as Emperor, and lived to see him master of Bohemia after the battle of the White Hill. While conducting a procession to celebrate this victory Pope Paul V was struck with apoplexy. A second seizure followed the first, and he died on 28th January 1621. He was buried in Sta. Maria Maggiore, where his tomb still exists. "Like Sixtus V he is represented kneeling, a large Herculean figure, with powerful head and thick neck." (*Vide* F. Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," English trans., pp. 128, 129.)

CCXXXV. GREGORY XV, A.D. 1621-1623

Emperor: FERDINAND II, 1619-1637

ON 9th February 1621, Alessandro Ludovisi, a native of Bologna, was elected pope by the College of Cardinals. At the time of his elevation he was Archbishop of Bologna.

and had been created Cardinal of Sta. Maria in Trastevere by Paul V, by whom also he was sent as papal ambassador to Spain. The new Pope, who took the name of Gregory XV, was a small man, cautious and reserved, but remarkable for his skill in diplomacy. At the time of his elevation he was already aged, and in weak health. As he required the services of a younger prelate, he raised his nephew, Ludovico Ludovisi, then aged twenty-five, to the cardinalate. Ludovico showed great ability in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, but did not fail to further his own interests, and advance the members of his family by advantageous alliances.

Gregory XV took a deep interest in promoting missionary enterprise. He founded and endowed the Propaganda, a special congregation of cardinals for the control of all foreign missions. The Jesuits were specially favoured by this Pope, who canonized Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies.

Pope Gregory encouraged Louis XIII of France to crush the Huguenots, and urged the Emperor Ferdinand II, who was now master of Bohemia, to restore the Catholic religion in that country. Gregory warmly approved of the transfer of the Palatine Electorate to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, and after the taking of Heidelberg the Duke presented Pope Gregory with the valuable library of the Counts Palatine. The Spanish match, which was at one time projected for Charles, Prince of Wales, was looked on with favour by Gregory, who hoped that by this means the Catholic religion might be re-established in England.

The smaller Italian states were at this time cut off from all foreign aid through the occupation of the Alpine passes by Austrians on the German side, and by Spain on that of Italy. Louis XIII, fearing that his influence in Italy might thus be lost, and that the Austrians would send help to the Spaniards by these passes, entered into a treaty with Venice and Savoy to drive the Austrians from the passes and fortresses of the Grisons by force. This treaty threatened to involve all Europe in war, and France and Spain referred the matter to the judgement of the Pope. Gregory sent papal troops, under the command of his brother, the Duke of Fiano, to occupy the Valtelline pass. After some hesitation the Archduke Leopold of Austria consented to yield the passes to the papal troops, and the threatened war was averted. Before the treaty was concluded Gregory XV died on 8th July 1623. He was buried in St.

Peter's, but his remains were afterwards transferred to the Jesuit church of St. Ignatius, which was founded by his nephew, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi.

CCXXXVI. URBAN VIII, A.D. 1623-1644

Emperors: FERDINAND II, 1619-1637; FERDINAND III, 1637-1658

MAFFEO BARBERINI, a native of Florence, was elected supreme pontiff on 6th August 1623. His parents, Antonio Barberini and Camilla Barbadori, both belonged to noble and wealthy Florentine families. After graduating at the University of Pisa, Maffeo was made Governor of Fano by Gregory XIV. In 1601 he was sent as papal nuncio to France, and five years later was created Cardinal and Archbishop of Spoleto by Paul V. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Urban VIII.

The new pope, who was fifty-five at the time of his election, was fully determined to uphold his position as a temporal prince. He rightly held that the Thirty Years' War was no longer being waged for purely religious ends, and he therefore considered himself justified in supporting Richelieu on the Protestant side against the House of Austria, towards which he manifested an open animosity. He is even said to have rejoiced at the triumphs of the Protestant hero, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Towards the Emperor Ferdinand II, Urban VIII also showed his hostility by constantly opposing his nominations to German benefices. After the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the Pope was, however, forced to make peace with the House of Hapsburg, and to oppose all concessions to the Protestants, but his vacillating policy served to diminish the political prestige of the papacy.

In 1632 Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, died, leaving no male heir, and his duchy reverted to the Apostolic see. Pope Urban VIII followed the example of his predecessors in promoting and enriching his own relatives. Two of his nephews he created cardinals, and by marrying a third to a member of the Colonna family he obtained for him the principality of Palestrina.

In the controversy which arose during this pontificate between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, Urban VIII supported the latter order, and condemned the "Augustinus," the book written by Cornelius Jansen. This book professed to set forth

the true doctrine of St. Augustine concerning grace, which Jansen declared had been abandoned by the Church for centuries. Urban's acquiescence in the condemnation by the Inquisition of the famous astronomer, Galileo, who was forced to recant his beliefs and was imprisoned until his death, is evidence of the total absence of appreciation of natural science which prevailed in ecclesiastical circles at that time.

Poets found in Urban VIII a generous patron, and he was himself a poet of no mean merit. A collection of his Latin poems are extant. He also laboured to fortify and beautify Rome. The Barberini Palace, the fountain of the Triton, the Baldacchino of St. Peter's, and the colonnade of the piazza, were all designed and executed under the direction of the famous sculptor, Bernini, during this pontificate.

By Urban's orders the remains of the Countess Matilda were brought from Tuscany (*vide ante*, p. 263), and deposited in St. Peter's in a mausoleum designed by Bernini. Pope Urban also caused the fortifications of St. Angelo to be improved, and placed in the fortress cannon made of bronze taken from the Pantheon. His destruction of Roman antiquities drew from the Romans the following lampoon, "Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini."

In 1641 Pope Urban, at the instigation of his nephews, sent troops to seize the city of Castro from the Duke of Parma. The duke, however, obtained help from Venice and other states, and the papal troops distinguished themselves by cowardice and incapacity. After an unsuccessful war, which is said to have cost the papal treasury twenty million crowns, the Pope was forced to restore Castro and to conclude a treaty on humiliating terms with the duke. This affront is said to have been the death-blow of the Pope. He died on 29th July 1644, and was buried in St. Peter's, where his magnificent monument, designed by Bernini, may be seen in the Tribune. (*Cf.* Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," English trans., p. 134.)

CCXXXVII. INNOCENT X, A.D. 1644-1655

Emperor: FERDINAND III, 1637-1658

OWING to the strife between the French and Spanish factions in the Curia, the conclave, which assembled on 6th August 1644, was protracted until 15th September. On that date Cardinal Giambattista Pamfili, the son of Camillo

Pamfili, a Roman, was elected pope. After studying jurisprudence in Rome, Pamfili had held the offices of consistorial advocate and auditor of the Rota. He afterwards served successively as nuncio to Naples and legate to Spain, and in 1626 was created Cardinal-priest of St. Eusebius. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Innocent X. Although seventy-two years of age at the time of his election, Innocent was still able and energetic. He possessed an affable temper and did his best to maintain peace in Rome.

One of his first acts was to dispossess the Barberini family of the wealth which they had acquired during the previous pontificate. (*Vide* Urban VIII.) He caused their palaces to be seized and all their possessions confiscated. Mazarin afterwards interceded on their behalf, and persuaded the Pope to come to terms with them. The district of Castro, of which Urban VIII had unsuccessfully attempted to gain possession, was seized by the papal troops, its fortifications demolished, and the territory annexed to the papal estates.

Pope Innocent X reversed the policy of his predecessor, who had favoured France, and attached himself to the House of Hapsburg. His relations with Mazarin became accordingly strained, and he espoused the cause of Cardinal Retz, who had been imprisoned by that minister. Out of deference to Spain Innocent refused to recognize the independence of Portugal, or to acknowledge the new king of that country. In 1648 the Peace of Westphalia put an end to the Thirty Years' War. Pope Innocent issued a bull, declaring void the articles in this treaty, which were detrimental to the Catholic religion, but his protest was ignored.

During the whole of his pontificate Innocent X was ruled by his sister-in-law, Donna Olimpia Maidalchina, to whom he is believed to have been under obligations for the wealth which she had brought to his family. She was a woman of insatiable avarice and ambition, and was hated by the Romans. Innocent permitted her to exercise great influence at the papal court, and even to dispose of benefices and of civil and military offices to the highest bidder. For her son, Don Camillo, she arranged a marriage with the heiress of the Aldobrandini family, but soon quarrelled with her daughter-in-law. (*Cf.* Ranke, "Hist. of the Popes," Bohn trans., vol. ii, viii, 5, p. 362.) The last years of Pope Innocent's life were embittered by quarrels among the members of his family.

In 1653 Innocent X issued a bull, in which he condemned

five propositions selected by the Jesuits from Jansen's "Augustinus." The Jansenists replied by declaring that the infallibility of the Pope did not extend to matters of fact, but only to matters of doctrine.

Innocent X died on 7th January 1655. It is recorded that his ungrateful relatives refused to pay for his funeral, and his body remained unburied for three days. On the fourth day a canon, who had been formerly in his service, but who had been dismissed, paid a small sum for his burial out of compassion. His remains were placed in a coffin of poplar-wood, and laid to rest in the church of St. Agnese, which he had caused to be rebuilt near his family mansion. (*Cf.* Ranke, "Hist. of the Popes," Bohn trans., vol. ii, viii, 5, p. 363.)

CCXXXVIII. ALEXANDER VII, A.D. 1655-1667

Emperors: FERDINAND III, 1637-1658; LEOPOLD I, 1658-1705

FOR three months after the death of Innocent X, the Roman see remained vacant, owing to the contentions of French and Spanish factions in the conclave. At length the Spanish faction prevailed, and on 7th April 1655 the cardinals announced that their choice had fallen on Fabio Chigi, who belonged to an illustrious family of Siena, and whose father, Flavio Chigi, was the nephew of Paul V. Fabio had lost his father at an early age, and had received his early education from his mother and from private tutors. After graduating in law and philosophy at the University of Siena, he entered the Church, and was made vice-legate to Ferrara by Urban VIII. He afterwards acted successively as Inquisitor at Malta, and nuncio at Cologne, and after being employed on several important embassies and legations was raised to the cardinalate by Innocent X in 1652. He took the name of Alexander VII.

On his elevation Alexander had promised to keep his relatives out of Rome, and for the first year of his pontificate he kept his word. At the end of that time, however, he was persuaded by certain ill-advised persons to send for his kinsmen, and all the most lucrative offices in Church and State were soon handed over to them.

Previous to his elevation to the papacy, Alexander had made an enemy of Mazarin, whom he could not forgive for having contracted an alliance with Cromwell, and for having delayed the conclusion of peace between France and Spain. Mazarin

had consequently attempted, but without success, to oppose Alexander's election. In 1662 Créquy, the French ambassador, was insulted in Rome by the Pope's Corsican guards. As the Pope delayed to make the satisfaction demanded by France, Louis XIV sent troops to seize Avignon. In 1664 a peace, humiliating to the Pope, was concluded at Pisa. Like his predecessor Alexander VII inclined to favour Spain and Austria, and out of deference to Spain refused to recognize the independence of Portugal. He also confirmed the bull of Innocent X against the doctrines of the Jansenists. Queen Christina of Sweden, who had embraced the Catholic religion, came to reside in Rome after her abdication, and was honourably received by Pope Alexander VII.

Pope Alexander VII disliked business, and delighted to retire to one of his suburban villas, where he had leisure to engage in literary pursuits, and to enjoy the society of the learned. A collection of his Latin poems appeared in Paris in 1656. He, did much to improve and beautify Rome.

Alexander VII died on 22nd May 1667, and was buried in St. Peter's, where his monument, the work of Bernini, may be seen. On the pedestal a statue of the Pope, a slight but graceful figure, with folded hands, kneels upon a cushion. (*Vide* F. Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," Eng. trans., p. 136.)

CCXXXIX. CLEMENT IX, A.D. 1667-1669

Emperor: LEOPOLD I, 1658-1705

GIULIO ROSPIGLIOSI, a native of Pistoja, was elected Pope on 20th June 1667. After a brilliant University career at Rome and Pisa, Rospigliosi entered the Church, and had in time been made titular Archbishop of Tarsus, and nuncio to Spain by Urban VIII. By Pope Alexander VII he was made Secretary of State, and Cardinal-priest of San Sisto. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Clement IX.

Clement was a mild-tempered prelate of blameless life, greatly beloved for his charity to the poor He was in the habit of visiting the Roman hospitals regularly, and twice a week occupied a confessional in St. Peter's, where he heard all who desired to confess to him. But he was remarkable neither for his ability as a ruler nor for his skill as a diplomatist. Under

him more friendly relations were established with France than had existed in the previous pontificate.

He refused to favour his relatives in any special way, and though they were permitted to live in Rome, if they pleased, he did not bestow on them any important civil or ecclesiastical offices. Contrary to custom, all who had held office during the previous pontificate were permitted to retain their posts.

In 1668, Clement IX effected a reconciliation with the Jansenists, by persuading them to consent to a general condemnation of the five propositions condemned by Innocent X (*vide* pp. 436, 438), without insisting that these formed part of the doctrine taught by their founder. This reconciliation was known as the "Pax Clementina."

Pope Clement IX was influential in bringing about the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, between France and Spain; and he warned Louis XIV against the aggressive policy in which he was preparing to engage. Clement also re-organized the Church in Portugal, which had become almost destitute of bishops during the years that the popes refused to recognize the independence of that country.

The news of the capture of Crete by the Turks is said to have hastened the Pope's death. He died on 9th December 1669, and was buried as he had himself requested, under a plain slab, with a simple inscription in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore. His successor Clement X caused a magnificent monument, the work of Ercole Ferrata, Bernini's pupil, to be erected to his memory in the same church.

CCXL. CLEMENT X, A.D. 1670-1676

Emperor: LEOPOLD I, 1658-1705

AFTER a vacancy of nearly five months in the Roman see, caused by the disputes of contending factions in the conclave, Cardinal Emilio Altieri, a native of Rome was elected pope on 29th April 1670. He belonged to a noble Roman family, and had held the offices of legate to Poland, Bishop of Camerino, nuncio to Naples, and secretary of the congregation of bishops and regulars. By Clement IX he had been created a Cardinal in 1669. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Clement X. Clement was of a gentle and charit-

able disposition, but at the time of his election he was already in his eightieth year, and was very infirm. It was therefore necessary for him to appoint a younger prelate as his assistant.

As most of his male relatives had entered the church, and consequently left no heirs, he adopted as his nephew a member of the Paoluzzi family, whom he created a cardinal, and caused him to assume the name of Altieri. Another member of the same family had married the Pope's niece Laura, the sole heiress of the Altieri, whose name he assumed, in order to save it from extinction. The aged Pope Clement X left the chief management of ecclesiastical affairs in the hands of his cardinal-nephew. It was said in Rome that the Pope's business was to bless and consecrate, that of Cardinal Altieri to reign and govern.

Clement was disposed to favour Spain, and Louis XIV consequently revenged himself by appropriating the revenues of vacant French bishoprics and abbeys, and by encroaching on the papal authority in France. This Pope supported the Poles in their struggle with the Turks by sending them subsidies. One of his medals, struck in 1671, commemorates his canonization of five new saints, including St. Rose of Lima, the first South American saint. He caused the bridge of St. Angelo to be ornamented with ten statues of Carrara marble; by his orders the great Palazzo Altieri was built, and the Piazza of St. Peter provided with two beautiful fountains.

Pope Clement X died on 22nd July 1676, after an uneventful pontificate, and was buried in St. Peter's, where a monument, erected to his memory, may be seen.

CCXLI. INNOCENT XI, A.D. 1676-1689

Emperor: LEOPOLD I, 1658-1705

AFTER a vacancy of two months in the Roman see caused by the disagreement of French and Italian factions in the Curia, Benedict Odescalchi, a native of Como, was elected pope on 21st September 1676. According to some accounts Benedict received his early education from the Jesuits, and afterwards studied law at Rome and Naples. He is said to have come to Rome in his twenty-fifth year with only his sword and pistols, intending to engage in some secular career, but was persuaded to enter the Church. Under Urban VIII he

was made successively protonotary, President of the Apostolic Chamber, Commissioner of Ancona, etc. By Innocent X he was made a cardinal, and in 1650 Bishop of Novara. He was afterwards employed on several important legations. Although his elevation to the papacy was strongly opposed by France, his blameless life, humility, and conscientious devotion to duty won for him the support of the majority, and the affection of the Roman people. He took the name of Innocent XI.

The first work of the new pope was to reduce the expenditure and to bring order into the papal revenues, which had been squandered by preceding popes on their kinsmen. He determined to abolish nepotism, and refused to promote his nephew Don Livio, or to permit him to reside in the Vatican. Many other abuses were also abolished by Innocent XI. The gaming houses were closed, sumptuary laws passed, and ordinances drawn up respecting modesty of dress in females. The fitness of candidates for bishoprics was also carefully investigated by this Pope.

During the whole of his pontificate Innocent was engaged in a struggle with Louis XIV, on account of the latter's encroachments on the papal prerogative. Louis had reasserted his claim to the regale or right to present to all bishoprics, and to receive their revenues during a vacancy. This claim was opposed by Innocent XI, who refused to confirm the King's clerical nominations, and thirty-five French bishops were deprived of canonical institution.

In 1682 Louis XIV convened an assembly of French bishops in Paris, when the four following propositions afterwards preserved as the manifesto of Gallican immunities were drawn up. 1. That neither St. Peter nor his successors have received from God any authority to interfere in temporal affairs. 2. That the authority of a general council is superior to that of the Pope. 3. That the rules and institutions hitherto received in the Gallican Church are to be preserved inviolable. 4. That the decrees of the Pope are not infallible without the consent and approval of the Church.

Innocent also opposed the appointment of the candidate favoured by Louis to the archbishopric of Cologne, and brought about the election of one supported by the opposite party. Partly to prove his own orthodoxy in spite of his quarrel with the Pope, Louis XIV was induced to revoke the edict of Nantes in 1685, and to commence a relentless persecution of the Huguenots. Although certain writers declare that Pope Inno-

cent XI approved of this persecution, there is evidence to show that this was not the case.

Innocent protested against the right of asylum claimed by foreign ambassadors residing in Rome. As this right of asylum was extended even to the streets surrounding their palaces, a sanctuary was often provided in this way for the worst criminals. In 1686 a new French ambassador appointed to Rome was ordered by Louis XIV to maintain the right of asylum at all costs, and entered the city in face of the Pope's prohibition, with a large body-guard, which included several squadrons of cavalry. Innocent, indignant at this defiance of his authority, placed the church of St. Louis, where the French ambassador was accustomed to attend mass, under an interdict. Louis XIV at length appealed to a general council, sent troops to seize Avignon, and caused the papal nuncio in France to be imprisoned. The Pope retaliated by excommunicating the French ambassador in Rome. France was thus brought to the verge of schism with the Apostolic see, but at this juncture the dethronement of James II of England served to weaken the power of Louis XIV.

In spite of the fact that James II was a devout Catholic, Innocent XI refused to support him because of his friendship with Louis, and is said to have even favoured the Protestant Prince of Orange the great enemy of the French King. Pope Innocent XI supported Austria in the war against the Turks, and lived to hear of the capture of Belgrade towards which he had assisted by sending subsidies.

In 1689 a remarkable book known as "The Spiritual Guide," written by a Spanish priest named Michael Molinos appeared in Rome. This book declared religion to consist not in outward forms of worship but in perfect calm and tranquillity of mind. From the quiet of mind inculcated the doctrine received the name of Quietism. The Pope, who had been at first inclined to favour Molinos was induced by the Jesuits to condemn this doctrine. Molinos was forced by the Inquisition to recant, and was imprisoned until his death, which took place in 1696.

Pope Innocent XI died on 10th August 1689, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CCXLII. ALEXANDER VIII, A.D. 1689-1691

Emperor: LEOPOLD I, 1658-1705

OWING to the disagreement of opposite factions in the conclave the Roman see remained vacant for two months after the death of Innocent XI. At length, on 5th October 1689, the party favourable to France succeeded in securing the election of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, who was descended from a noble Venetian family. He was the son of Marco Ottoboni, Chancellor of the Republic of Venice. After a brilliant career at the University of Padua, he had obtained the degree of doctor of canon and civil law in 1627. He was subsequently made Governor of Terni, Rieti, and Spoleto, and for fourteen years was auditor of the Rota. In 1652 he was created a cardinal by Innocent X, and the bishopric of Brescia in Venetian territory was soon afterwards bestowed on him. Under Innocent XI he had been the chief administrator of ecclesiastical affairs. At the time of his elevation to the papacy he was in his eightieth year. He took the name of Alexander VIII.

Shortly after the election of the new Pope, Louis XIV made overtures for a reconciliation with the Roman see. He restored Avignon to the Pope, and ordered the French Ambassador in Rome to surrender all claim to the franchise or right of asylum. Alexander VIII was, however, not satisfied with this, and declared null and void the decrees passed at the French assembly of 1682. (*Vide* Innocent XI, p. 442.)

Alexander VIII reversed the family policy of his predecessor by granting great wealth to his relatives. He assisted the Venetians in the war against the Turks by sending subsidies of money, and showed much charity to the poor. The valuable books and MSS. of Queen Christina of Sweden were purchased by the Pope and placed in the Vatican library. This Pope was disposed to support the cause of James II of England, to whom he wrote declaring that he would spare no pains to re-establish him on the throne.

Pope Alexander VIII died on 1st February 1691. He was buried in St. Peter's, where a magnificent bronze tomb erected by his relatives stands.

CCXLIII. INNOCENT XII, A.D. 1691-1700

Emperor: LEOPOLD I, 1658-1705

ON 11th February 1691 the cardinals entered the conclave, but owing to the disagreement of the French and Spanish factions no election was made for some months. At length, on 12th July 1691, Antonio Pignatelli, a native of Spinazzolo, descended from a ducal family of Montelione, in the kingdom of Naples, was elected Pope. He had entered the Church at the age of twenty, and was made successively vice-legate to Urbino, inquisitor of Malta and governor of Perugia. He afterwards acted as nuncio to Tuscany, Poland, and Austria. Under Clement X he seems to have enjoyed little favour, but by Innocent XI he was created Cardinal-priest of S. Pancrazio fuori le mura, and soon afterwards Bishop of Faenza, and Archbishop of Naples. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Innocent XII.

Innocent was fully determined to suppress nepotism, and drew up a bull enacting that no benefices or church revenue, the value of which might exceed 12,000 scudi per annum, should henceforth be conferred on any kinsmen of the Pope. This bull was strongly opposed by the cardinals, but Innocent XII compelled them to sign it.

After negotiating for two years, Innocent, in 1693, induced Louis XIV to retract the four propositions concerning papal infallibility and other canons passed at the French Assembly of 1682. (*Vide* Innocent XI.) The French clergy also made their submission to the Pope, and were accorded canonical institution by him. It appears, however, that Louis XIV did not actually intend to annul the four propositions, but only to suspend them temporarily. Some accounts state that after the reconciliation with France, Innocent XII advised Charles II of Spain to appoint a French prince as his successor, and that in making his will in favour of Philip of Anjou he was considerably influenced by the Pope.

In the controversy between Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, and De la Mothe Fénélon, Archbishop of Cambray, Pope Innocent XII condemned a work of the latter known as "The Maxims of the Saints." Fénélon acquiesced in this condemnation, declared his submission to the Pope, and even read the papal decree from his pulpit at Cambray. He was ordered

by Louis XIV to remain within his diocese, and to cease henceforth to appear at Court.

As the imperial ambassador in Rome still insisted on claiming the right of asylum, which had been abolished by Innocent XI (*q.v.*), the relations between the Apostolic see and the Emperor Leopold became somewhat strained. Innocent XII was universally beloved for his geniality and for his charity to the poor. He caused several educational and charitable institutions and a large court-house to be erected. Part of the Lateran Palace was converted by him into a hospital. He died on 27th September 1700, and was buried in St. Peter's, where there is a monument erected to his memory.

CCXLIV. CLEMENT XI, A.D. 1700-1721

Emperors: LEOPOLD I to 1705; JOSEPH I, 1705-1711; CHARLES VI, 1711-1742

GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ALBANI, a native of Urbino, was elected pope on 23rd November 1700. He belonged to a noble Umbrian family, and was the grandson of Francesco Maria Albani, who had been senator of Rome for thirteen years. Giovanni received his early education at the Roman College, and became famous for his literary productions before he had attained his majority. After taking orders, he was made successively Governor of Rieti, Sabina, and Orvieto, Vicar of St. Peter's, and Secretary of Papal Briefs. In 1690 he was created Cardinal-deacon, and later Cardinal-priest of San Silvestro. On his election to the papacy he was extremely unwilling to accept the proferred honour, and protested with tears for three days before he was induced by the cardinals to yield. He took the name of Clement XI.

Clement was a learned prelate of affable manners and blameless life. He lived so abstemiously that a few pence per day covered the expenses of his table. He is said, however, to have had little originality, and to have been often unfortunate in his decisions. One of his first acts was to abolish many abuses which had been tolerated by his predecessors.

Clement was at once faced with great difficulties owing to the dispute about the Spanish succession. While the conclave was sitting Charles II of Spain had died, leaving a will by which he made Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV,

his heir. The Emperor Leopold, however, claimed Spain for his second son, the Archduke Charles of Austria. Pope Clement at first favoured the French side, which he confidently expected to win. But the fortunes of Louis XIV were now on the wane, and the victories of Marlborough extinguished the ambitions of France. The imperial troops, joined with those of Prussia, invaded Italy and threatened Rome. Clement XI hesitated till the last moment, but at eleven o'clock on the evening of the day appointed for his final decision (15th January 1709) he signed a document acknowledging the Austrian Charles III as King of Spain.

Although France had given little or no assistance to the Pope against the imperialists, both Louis XIV and his grandson, Philip, expressed the greatest indignation at Clement's surrender. By the treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, Sicily and Sardinia, which had been regarded as papal fiefs, were assigned to new rulers. The ecclesiastical territories of Parma and Piacenza were also bestowed on a Spanish prince. The new ruler of Sicily, Amadeus II, Duke of Savoy, refused to recognize the Pope's authority over the churches of Sicily. Clement placed Sicily under an interdict, upon which three thousand clergy, who remained loyal to the Apostolic see, were driven from the island, and sent into the papal territories, where Clement was forced to support them.

During this pontificate the strife between the Jesuits and the Jansenists was renewed. A book called "Reflexions Morales," on the text of the New Testament, written by Pasquier Quesnel, a French theologian, had at first been approved by the Pope. The Jesuits, however, discovered heretical tendencies in this work, and urged Louis XIV to induce the Pope to condemn it. In 1713 Clement XI issued his famous bull, "Unigenitus," in which he condemned one hundred and one propositions contained in the book. By this bull the Apostolic see adopted the tenets of the Jesuits, and a prolonged controversy arose on the subject. In France the Jansenists were prosecuted, and the pious ladies of Port Royal, who had embraced the Jansenists' tenets, were driven from the Abbey, and the walls levelled to the ground. During this pontificate accusations were brought against the Jesuits by the Dominicans, and other missionaries in China. It was declared that the Jesuits tolerated certain idolatrous practices of the old religion in their Chinese converts. Clement XI issued a bull forbidding these ceremonies to be practised. The Jesuits refused

at first to submit to this decree, but were afterwards induced to make concessions.

Clement XI showed much kindness and hospitality towards the exiled James Francis Edward Stuart, son of James II of England. With the Pope's help a marriage was arranged for him with the Polish princess, Clementina Sobieski. In spite of the troubles of his reign, Clement XI manifested great zeal in promoting missionary enterprise, and sent money and ships to the help of the Venetians against the Turks. Clement XI died on 19th March 1721, and was buried in the chapel of St. Peter's choir.

CCXLV. INNOCENT XIII, A.D. 1721-1724

Emperor: CHARLES VI, 1711-1742

AFTER a conclave of several weeks, rendered stormy by the disputes of the French and imperial factions, Michelangelo dei Conti, a Roman, son of the Duke of Poli, was elected Pope on 8th May 1721. He belonged to the illustrious family of Conti, which had produced several popes, including Innocent III. After studying at the Roman College, he entered the Church, and served successively as nuncio to Switzerland and to Portugal. By Clement XI he was created Cardinal-bishop of Orsino and Viterbo. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Innocent XIII. As he was in weak health he could give few audiences, but he was otherwise admirably fitted both by his piety and his ability to govern the Church.

The new Pope consented to invest the Emperor Charles VI with the kingdom of Naples, but protested in vain against the investiture of Don Carlos with the ecclesiastical states of Parma and Piacenza. He confirmed the bull of his predecessor condemning the seemingly idolatrous practices tolerated by the Jesuits in their Chinese converts. This encouraged the French Jansenist bishops to request the Pope to repeal the bull "Unigenitus." (*Vide* Clement XI.) The Pope, however, refused this request, and condemned the bishops who had made the demand.

Under pressure from France, Innocent raised Dubois, the unworthy prime minister of that country, to the cardinalate, an act for which he is said to have repented on his death-bed. He died on 7th March 1724, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CCXLVI. BENEDICT XIII, A.D. 1724-1730

Emperor: CHARLES VI, 1711-1742

THE conclave of cardinals assembled for the purpose of making a new election on 20th March 1724, but no choice was made until 29th May 1724, when Piero Francesco Orsini, a native of Naples, and eldest son of the Duke of Gravina in that kingdom, was elected Pope. He had become a Dominican friar, against the wishes of his parents, when only sixteen, and by Clement X was created a cardinal at an early age. Later he held the archbishoprics first of Manfredonia (Siponto), and afterwards of Benevento, which last he retained after his elevation to the papacy. So great was his influence with his relatives that his mother, his sister, and two of his nieces were induced by his example to embrace the religious life. It was only with the greatest difficulty that he was persuaded to accept the papal dignity. He took the name of Benedict XIII. Throughout his pontificate he adhered strictly to the rules of his order. The expenses of his table were fixed at a sum equivalent in English money to about sixpence a day. The hospitals were visited by him regularly, and he often remained with the dying until they had expired. He called the poor his nephews and relatives, and ordered the gates of the Vatican to stand ever open to them.

The management of ecclesiastical affairs was, however, left by him almost entirely to Cardinal Nicholas Coscia, an unworthy favourite. The power committed to this prelate roused the indignation of the cardinals. A synod convened by Benedict in the Lateran in 1725 to deal with the reform of clerical morals and the abolition of certain abuses produced little result. Pope Benedict was disinclined to favour the Jesuits, and seemed even to show some sympathy for the Jansenists. During this pontificate the aged Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, was at length induced to accept the bull, "Unigenitus," thus terminating a long-standing quarrel with the French Church. A reconciliation was also effected between the Apostolic see and Amadeus of Savoy during this pontificate, but Benedict refused to recognize the claims of John V of Portugal, who had encroached on the papal prerogative in that country.

Benedict XIII died on 21st February 1730 at the age of eighty-one, and was buried in the church of Santa Maria sopra

Minerva. The statue erected to his memory shows Benedict kneeling, apparently absorbed in silent prayer. He is represented as a bald-headed old man, of ascetic appearance. (*Vide* F. Gregorovius, "The Tombs of the Popes," English trans., p. 139.) The works of Benedict XIII were published at Ravenna in 1728.

CCXLVII. CLEMENT XII, A.D. 1730-1740

Emperor: CHARLES VI, 1711-1742

THE conclave, which assembled in March 1730, for the election of a new pope, was protracted for some months owing to the disagreement of different factions. At length, on 12th July 1730, Lorenzo Corsini, a native of Florence, was elected pope. He was descended from a noble family which had produced many distinguished prelates and statesmen. After a brilliant university career at Rome and Pisa, he obtained the degree of doctor of law, and afterwards entered the Church. The important ecclesiastical offices successively held by him included those of Governor of St. Angelo, Papal Treasurer, Cardinal-deacon of St. Susanna, Cardinal-priest of St. Pietro in Vincula, and Cardinal-bishop of Frascati. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Clement XII.

The new Pope was seventy-eight years of age, and suffered from failing eyesight. Two years after his elevation he became bedridden and totally blind, but continued to take a keen interest in ecclesiastical affairs. During his pontificate, which was unimportant, the Bourbon power predominated. Clement's claims to sovereignty over Naples and Parma were ignored, and a minister of justice was set up in Naples who regulated the relations between Church and State in a manner derogatory to the dignity of the Apostolic see. One of the first acts of Clement XII was to summon Cardinal Coscia, and those whom he had employed to give an account of their administration during the previous pontificate. (*Vide* Benedict XIII.) At their trial it was clearly proved that they had defrauded the Apostolic see of immense sums, which they were ordered to refund. Cardinal Coscia was sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

In order to replenish the exhausted treasury, Clement XII issued paper money, and established a Government lottery, threatening to excommunicate any Romans who invested in the lotteries of Genoa or Naples. Clement was the first pope

to issue decrees against the Freemasons, who became prominent about this time. He did much for the improvement of Rome by causing the streets to be paved and widened. He erected the famous fountain of Trevi, and restored the arch of Constantine. Several new governmental buildings were also erected by his orders, and the Vatican library enriched by a collection of new and valuable manuscripts.

Clement XII died on 6th February 1740, at the age of eighty-eight. He was buried in the Lateran, where he had caused a magnificent chapel to be erected in honour of his ancestor, St. Andrea Corsini, and as a burial-place for himself and his family.

CCXLVIII. BENEDICT XIV, A.D. 1740-1758

Emperors: CHARLES VI to 1742; CHARLES VII, 1742-1745; FRANCIS I, 1745-1765

THE conclave, which assembled in March 1740, for the election of a new pope, was again protracted for several months owing to the disagreement of different parties. At length on 17th August 1740, Prospero Lorenzo Lambertini, a native of Bologna, was elected Pope. He had received his early education at the Collegium Clementinum in Rome, and graduated as doctor of theology and of law at the age of nineteen. After holding several important ecclesiastical offices he was made Bishop of Ancona in 1727, and in the following year was created Cardinal-priest. In 1731 he was made Archbishop of Bologna. He took the name of Benedict XIV.

The new pope was a cultured and able prelate, remarkable for his wit and good humour. He delighted in the society of scholars. He wisely saw the necessity of making concessions to the powers of Europe in order to strengthen the position of the papacy.

In 1753 he established a Concordat with Spain, by which he renounced the right of appointment to the smaller benefices in that country. In order to make good the loss thus sustained by the Apostolic see, the King of Spain agreed to pay a certain sum to the Pope. Benedict also granted to the King of Portugal an extension of the right of patronage over the benefices and abbeys of his kingdom, and bestowed on him in 1750 the title of "Rex Fidelissimus."

Concordats were also established with Sardinia, by which

the King of that island was granted the incomes of papal fiefs on condition of paying a yearly sum to the Roman see. Benedict was the first pope to recognize Frederick II King of Prussia as such. By these means peace was restored between the papacy and the European powers. Benedict also abolished many abuses and superstitious practices, and diminished the number of unnecessary festivals. These reforms offended many of the cardinals, and caused him to be named "the Protestant Pope." In order to promote the study of history and canon law among the clergy he founded four academies, and established a museum of Christian antiquities in Rome. Benedict caused a medal to be struck to the memory of "Maria Clementina, Queen of Britain," the wife of "the Old Pretender." He also caused her tomb in St. Peter's to be completed. To this scholarly and witty Pope Voltaire dedicated his "Mahomet."

A strong feeling against the doctrines and institutions of the Jesuits had for some time been growing up in Europe, and Pope Benedict XIV was disinclined to favour the Order. He issued bulls condemning their methods of accommodating their teaching to the usages of Chinese and Malabar converts. He also denounced their mercantile enterprises, and forbade them to make slaves of the Indians or rob the natives of their property.

Benedict XIV died on 3rd May 1758, and was buried in St. Peter's. He was the author of several important works, including "De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et de Beatorum Canonizatione," "De Synodo Diocesanâ; and a collection of one hundred and seven documents, chiefly pastoral letters, known as "Institutiones Ecclesiasticae." His works were published in twelve quarto volumes in Rome during his pontificate. A more nearly complete edition appeared at Venice in 1767, and at Prato 1839-46.

CCXLIX. CLEMENT XIII, A.D. 1758-1769

Emperors: FRANCIS I, 1745-1765; JOSEPH II, 1765-1790

AFTER the conclave, which had assembled to choose a new pope, had lasted for sixty-five days, on 6th July 1758 the Jesuit party succeeded in securing the election of Cardinal Carlo Della Torre Rezzonico, a native of Venice. He had received his early education from the Jesuits at Bologna

afterwards graduating at Padua. In 1737 he had been created Cardinal-deacon of St. Mark's, and a few years later was made Bishop of Padua. He accepted the papal dignity with great reluctance, taking the name of Clement XIII.

Clement was sixty-five at the time of his elevation, and was a prelate of blameless life, but suffered from a distrust of himself, which caused him to depend on the opinions of persons who often proved untrustworthy. He was determined to uphold the claims of the papacy and the Jesuit Order at all costs.

On 3rd September 1758 an attempt was made to assassinate Joseph I, King of Portugal. The Jesuits were held to be the authors of the outrage, although this is improbable. Joseph I ordered them to be driven from Portugal as traitors and rebels. Their property was confiscated, and they were put on board ships, which landed them in the States of the Church. Pope Clement XIII vainly commanded the King of Portugal to rescind the order of banishment, but the latter replied by breaking off all alliance with the Apostolic see.

Meantime the Society had also been attacked in France. The failure of a mercantile house in Martinique, with which Father Lavallette of the Society of Jesus was connected had involved many French traders in ruin. The Parliament of Paris which had long been hostile to the Jesuits arraigned the French superiors of the order for fraudulent bankruptcy. It was at first proposed to place the order on a new basis, but the Jesuit general, Lorenzo Ricci declared that no essential change of the constitution was within his power. "Sint ut sunt, aut non sint," he insisted.

On 6th August 1762, the French Parliament declared that the Jesuits were opposed to all authority spiritual, temporal and civil, and decreed their banishment from France. Although the Pope annulled this decree no notice was taken of his bull.

In Spain Charles III became convinced that the Jesuits were plotting to dethrone him. Suddenly, without warning, at midnight on 2nd April 1767, he ordered six thousand Spanish Jesuits to be arrested, and placed on board ships which were to convey them to Italy. Pope Clement vainly implored the King to withdraw this order. As Naples was ruled by a son of the King of Spain, and Parma by his nephew, the Jesuits were also banished from these territories. So large an influx of the fugitives seriously embarrassed the Pope, who was obliged to forbid them to land at Civita Vecchia, and ordered them to

settle in Corsica. They were, however, driven from that island in the following year, and Clement was obliged to support them in the States of the Church.

Pope Clement issued a bull against the Duke of Parma, but the cause of the latter was espoused by the whole Bourbon family. The King of Naples seized the papal states of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, while French troops took possession of Avignon and Venaissin.

Pope Clement appealed for help to Maria Theresa of Austria, who was now his only supporter, but she refused to interfere on behalf of the Jesuits. Spain, France and Naples now insisted that Clement should issue an order for the suppression of the whole Jesuit order. The Pope, driven to despair, consented to call a consistory to consider the matter. But on the evening before the day fixed for the meeting Clement died suddenly (2nd February 1769). He was buried in St. Peter's, where his monument with a kneeling statue of the Pope, the work of the sculptor Canova, may be seen.

CCL. CLEMENT XIV, A.D. 1769-1774

Emperor: JOSEPH II, 1765-1790

AFTER a protracted conclave, which lasted for three months, owing to the difficulty in coming to a decision in face of the crisis which threatened the church, Lorenzo Antonio Ganganelli, the son of a physician of St. Arcangelo near Rimini, was elected Pope on 19th May 1769. Lorenzo had entered the Franciscan order at the age of eighteen, and had become a teacher of theology and philosophy. By Clement XIII he was created a cardinal. He took the name of Clement XIV. The new pontiff was a mild and moderate prelate, who delighted in music, and in study. It has been said of him that "his religion was not zeal, persecution, desire of dominion or polemical violence, but peace, humility and internal union. His moderation did not proceed from weakness, nor from necessity; it was the result of his unbiassed wishes and genial kindliness of heart." (*Vide* Ranke's "History of the Popes," viii, 18, vol. ii, Bohn trans., p. 494.)

Clement began his pontificate by making many concessions in order to avert the storm which threatened the Church in a

revolt of the Catholic powers. (*Vide* Clement XIII.) He wisely effected a reconciliation with the Duke of Bourbon, thus conciliating the King of Spain. Friendly relations were also re-established with Portugal.

Clement conceded that the famous bull of Pius V, "In Coenâ Domini" against heretics should no longer be read on Maundy Thursday. But in spite of these and other concessions, the Catholic Powers still continued to demand the suppression of the Jesuit order. The Pope begged for delay before pronouncing a judgement so momentous, and for three years he held out against the pressure put upon him. At length, convinced that only by yielding could he restore peace, and prevent the Bourbons from setting up national churches he published on 21st July 1773 the bull, "Dominus ac Redemptor Noster," decreeing the suppression of the famous Jesuit order.

Measures were at once taken for carrying this decree into effect. The Jesuits were deprived of all their houses and educational institutions, and were given three days to decide whether they would return to secular life or live in certain religious houses, which had formerly belonged to them, under the control of a secular priest. The Powers at once gave proof of their satisfaction with the Pope's decree by restoring to the Holy See Benevento, Ponte Corvo, Avignon and Venaissin. (*Vide* Clement XIII.)

The health of Clement XIV began to decline soon after the issue of this bull, and many writers declare that his death, which occurred on 22nd September 1774, was due to poison administered by the Jesuits. Recent research has, however, shown that there is no evidence to support this accusation. Clement XIV was buried in the church of the Santi Apostoli, where a beautiful monument erected to his memory may be seen.

CCLI. PIUS VI, A.D. 1775-1799

Emperors: JOSEPH II, 1765-1790; LEOPOLD II, 1790-1792; FRANCIS II, 1792-1806

AFTER a conclave which lasted four months, Giovanni Angelo Braschi, a native of Cesena was elected Pope on 15th February 1775. Having taken the degree of doctor of law, he had become secretary to Cardinal Ruffo. He afterwards held successively the offices of legate to Naples, secretary to

Pope Benedict XIV, and treasurer of the Apostolic Chamber. In 1773 he was created Cardinal-priest of San Onofrio by Clement XIV. He acquiesced with great reluctance in his election to the papacy. On his elevation he took the name of Pius VI.

The new Pope was a handsome man of dignified demeanour, and was gifted with great eloquence. He delighted in public ceremonies and processions, and is said to have been extremely vain. Although he owed his election to the anti-Jesuit party, he is believed to have favoured the Jesuits, who still found protectors in Frederick II of Prussia and Catherine II of Russia.

One of his first acts was to undertake the reform of the finances and of the administration of the papal states. He also began the draining of the Pontine marshes, but before a third of the marshes had been drained all the money which had been collected for the work was spent, and the undertaking was abandoned. His increased taxation had meantime caused much discontent in Rome. Pius delighted in works of art, and caused many valuable treasures to be added to the Roman museums.

The Jubilee of 1775, one of the most successful ever held, brought vast crowds of pilgrims to Rome. But the Pope had to face many difficulties, not the least being the spirit of scepticism imbibed from the French philosophers, which now began to pervade all ranks of society, and which was directly opposed to the claims of the papacy.

The Emperor Joseph II undertook, on his own responsibility, many ecclesiastical reforms, which seriously endangered the papal supremacy. He refused to permit money for papal dispensations to be sent out of the country, and of two thousand monasteries within his dominions dissolved thirteen hundred. Pius VI decided to visit Vienna in person, and set out from Rome in February 1782. Though he was magnificently received by the Emperor, his mission proved a failure, for Joseph continued to make ecclesiastical changes on his own initiative.

In the general overthrow of all established institutions brought about by the French Revolution, the papacy was not spared. Pope Pius VI trusted to a natural reaction, and at first refused to acknowledge the French Republic. But after the victorious campaign of Bonaparte in Italy in 1796, the Pope was forced to make humiliating terms with the French, promising to surrender Bologna and Ferrara, five hundred valuable manuscripts, and a hundred works of art. Bonaparte soon dis-

covered, however, that the Pope was secretly negotiating an alliance with the Austrians against the French. French troops were then sent to seize Ancona, and by the Peace of Tolentino, signed in February 1797, Pius VI was forced to agree to more humiliating terms than before, promising to surrender Avignon, Venaissin, and the Romagna, as well as Bologna and Ferrara.

In the following December, the French General Duplot was shot in Rome during a popular rising. The French Ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, at once left Rome, and French troops, under General Berthier, were ordered to march on the city. The Castle of St. Angelo was seized, and a republic proclaimed. On the Pope's refusal to surrender his temporal authority he was ordered to leave Rome within forty-eight hours. Pius who was then in his eighty-first year, begged to be allowed to die in his palace, but was told that he could die as well anywhere. He was then subjected to the greatest indignities, even his rings being rudely torn from his fingers. He was escorted as a prisoner to Siena, and from thence to the Carthusian monastery of San Casciano, two miles from Florence.

In the following year fresh hostilities broke out with France in Tuscany, and Bonaparte ordered the Pope to be conveyed to Valence for greater safety. The aged pontiff was hurried across the Alps, but died on 29th August 1799, six weeks after his arrival at Valence.

His heart was buried in Valence, where Napoleon afterwards caused a monument to be erected to his memory. His body was conveyed to Rome, and buried in a crypt in St. Peter's, in which church his beautiful kneeling statue may be seen in the "Confessio."

CCLII. PIUS VII, A.D. 1800-1823

Emperor: FRANCIS II, 1792-1806 (abdicated)

AT the time of the death of Pius VI, Bonaparte had not yet returned from his expedition to Egypt. As the Austrians considered it inexpedient to hold the conclave in Rome, the cardinals assembled at Venice on 30th November 1799. After much anxious deliberation, it was announced, on 14th March 1800, that their choice had fallen on Luigi Barnaba Chiaramonti, a native of Cesena. He was the son of Count Scipione Chiaramonti, and of the Countess Ghini, who was famous for her piety. At the age of sixteen he had entered a

Benedictine monastery, and after a course of theology, became a teacher in the schools of his order. By his relative, Pius VI, he had been made Bishop of Tivoli, Bishop of Imola, and cardinal. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Pius VII.

In the month of July following his election Pius VII entered Rome, and was received with great joy. During the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt the Austrians and Russians had been victorious over the French, and the powers of Europe opposed to Bonaparte were now ready to take the papacy under their protection.

After his election as First Consul, Napoleon seems to have conceived the ambition of ruling as universal emperor. To achieve this end he realized that the restoration of many of the old institutions would be necessary. He accordingly began to negotiate with the Pope for a re-establishment of the Catholic Church in France.

In August 1801 a Concordat was signed between Napoleon and Pius VII, by which many concessions were made on both sides. The French clergy were to be nominated and supported solely by the government, and were to take an oath of fealty to the First Consul. The Pope, however, reserved to himself the right to institute the prelates canonically. Pius also agreed to surrender Church property to the value of 400 million francs. To this Concordat Napoleon afterwards insisted on adding what are known as the "Organic Articles," by which the four propositions decreed by the French assembly of 1682, as a manifesto of Gallican immunities, were reasserted. (*Vide* Innocent XI.) The Pope refused to recognize these articles, or to agree to the drawing up of a Concordat relative to the Church in Italy, similar to that which had been made for France.

Napoleon now desired that the Pope should come to Paris to crown him Emperor, and Pius considered it inexpedient to refuse. He left Rome in November 1804, and on his arrival at Fontainebleau was most honourably received by Napoleon. On 2nd December the magnificent ceremony of the coronation took place in Notre Dame. The Pope anointed the head of Napoleon who immediately afterwards, without waiting for the Pope to do so, placed the crown on his own head, and that of the Empress on the head of Josephine. Pius VII remained in France for four months after the coronation, but failed in his attempts to obtain from the Emperor Napoleon the restoration

of the papal States, or any other concessions. Napoleon declared that henceforth the policy of the Pope must be that of the French Empire.

The great victory of Austerlitz won by Napoleon in 1805, put an end to the Holy Roman Empire, and in the following year the Emperor Francis II abdicated. Meantime friction had arisen between the Pope and Napoleon, who refused to keep the terms of the Concordat, and presumed to dissolve on his own authority the marriage of his brother Jerome. Napoleon also claimed the right to nominate one-third of the cardinals himself.

In 1808 Pius VII issued a bull of excommunication against the spoliators of the property of the Church, and Napoleon, in great indignation, sent troops to occupy Rome. On the night of 5th July, the Quirinal Palace, in which the Pope then resided, was broken into and Pius VII was taken prisoner by the French. He was conveyed first to Grenoble, and afterwards to Savona. While there he still refused to grant canonical institution to the bishops nominated by the Emperor. To punish his firmness Napoleon sent troops to occupy the papal States, which, by a decree of the French Senate, were now all confiscated.

The Pope was treated with great harshness, and on the discovery that he had attempted to correspond with the enemies of France, he was deprived of writing materials. Before Napoleon set out on his Russian campaign Pius VII was conveyed to Fontainebleau for greater safety. It was thought that the aged pontiff would not survive the journey, and on Mont Cenis he received the viaticum. On the return of Napoleon from Moscow, he held an interview with the Pope at Fontainebleau. Pius then agreed to humiliating terms, and promised to transfer the papal chair to France. Two months later, however, Pius was persuaded by some of his cardinals to refuse to fulfil the promises he had made.

Soon afterwards a new coalition was formed against France by Russia, Prussia and Austria, which led to the overthrow of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons. Just before his abdication Napoleon authorized the return of Pope Pius VII to Rome, where he was welcomed with great joy on 24th May 1814. Pius soon afterwards wrote to Louis XVIII congratulating him on his restoration to the throne.

When the news of Napoleon's escape from Elba reached Rome, Pope Pius VII fled to Genoa. He soon learned, how-

ever, that the papacy was not endangered; and the final overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo left the Pope master of Rome.

A Catholic reaction now set in. The papal States were restored to the Pope; the Inquisition and the Index, suspended under Clement XIV, were revived. Henceforth, until the close of his pontificate, Pius VII and his chief minister of state, Cardinal Consalvi, were much influenced in their policy by the Jesuits. Through the instrumentality of Consalvi a number of important concordats were drawn up between the papacy and all the Catholic powers except Austria.

Although the Protestant powers had been chiefly instrumental in restoring the Pope to his ancient rights, he adopted an inflexible attitude towards his deliverers, and, in 1816, published a bull, prohibiting, except under certain conditions, the circulation of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Pius VII treated the family of Bonaparte with great consideration, permitting them to receive honourable maintenance in Rome. He also attempted to interfere on behalf of Napoleon, pleading that he should be treated with less harshness at St. Helena.

On 16th July 1823 the ancient basilica of St. Paul without-the-Walls was destroyed by fire, and on 20th August following Pius VII died at the age of eighty-one, and was buried in St. Peter's. His monument by Thorwaldsen is "a work of great delicacy, grace and simplicity." (*Vide* F. Gregorovius, "Tombs of the Popes," Eng. trans., p. 147.)

CCLIII. LEO XII, A.D. 1823-1829

ON 28th September 1823, Annibale Francesco della Genga, born near Spoleto of a noble family, was elected supreme pontiff. He had received his education in Rome, at the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici, and entered the priesthood at an early age. In 1792 he became private secretary to Pius VI, who also created him titular Archbishop of Tyre. He afterwards acted as nuncio, first at Lucerne, and afterwards at Cologne, remaining in Germany for about twelve years. After the imprisonment of Pius VII, and the confiscation of the papal States by Napoleon, Della Genga retired as a state prisoner to the Abbey of Montecelli, which had been given him by the Pope. There he solaced himself with training the peasants to sing plain chants, and to play the organ.

After the fall of Napoleon, Della Genga returned to Rome,

and was employed by Pius VII to carry the Pope's congratulations to Louis XVIII, to the great indignation of Cardinal Consalvi, who expected that this mission would have been entrusted to himself. Two years later, Della Genga was created Cardinal-priest of Santa Maria in Trastevere, and Bishop of Sinigaglia by Pius VII. In 1820 he was made Cardinal-vicar. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Leo XII.

The new pope was in weak health at the time of his election, and soon afterwards became so seriously ill that no hope was entertained of his recovery. However, in January 1824, he began to rally and is said to have owed his recovery to the saintly Bishop Strambi of Macerata, who offered his life to heaven in exchange for that of the Pope, and died soon after visiting His Holiness.

The whole policy of Leo XII was reactionary, and opposed to the spirit of growth which was characteristic of the age. The Collegium Romanum was restored to the Jesuits, whose educational system was revived. Leo was personally very frugal, charitable to the poor, and a frequent visitor in the hospitals. He, however, made himself extremely unpopular with the Romans by laying down laws to regulate the smallest affairs of their daily life, and also by his system of espionage which destroyed the public confidence. The Jews were treated by him with great severity, and ordered to remain confined to their ghettos.

In 1825 a Jubilee brought many thousands of pilgrims to Rome, but failed to increase the papal finances to the extent that had been expected. Leo XII found funds, however, for many public improvements, and restored the Vatican Library and other buildings. He was a friend and patron of scholars.

Pope Leo XII died on 10th February 1829, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CCLIV. PIUS VIII, A.D. 1829-1830

FRANCESCO XAVIER CASTIGLIONI, who came of a noble family of Cingoli near Ancona, was elected Pope on 31st March 1829. He had studied canon law in Rome, and excelled in the knowledge of antiquities and of numismatics. In 1800 he was made Bishop of Montalto by Pius VII. For refusing to submit to Napoleon after the French con-

quest of Italy, he was sent a prisoner to France. In 1816 he was created a cardinal, and, successively, Bishop of Cesena and of Frascati. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Pius VIII. He was a prelate much beloved and esteemed, and his election caused great joy in Rome. Unfortunately the frailty of his health unfitted him for the burden imposed on him. He suffered from a chronic affection of the neck, which forced him to hold his head on one side.

A few days after the election of Pius VIII, Catholic Emancipation, by which nearly all offices in Church and State were thrown open to Catholics, was passed by the English Parliament. The news of the passing of the bill was received with joy in Rome. On 25th March 1830 Pius VIII issued a brief against mixed marriages in which he decreed that such marriages could only be sanctioned by the Church of Rome reluctantly, and under exceptional circumstances.

Pius VIII followed the reactionary policy of his predecessor, and suppressed all liberal tendencies. He refused to sanction nepotism, and abolished the system of espionage which had prevailed. Edicts were issued by him against all secret societies, including the Carbonari. He recognized Louis Philippe as King of France, but the excitement of the Revolution of 1830 is said to have been too much for his feeble health, and he died on 1st December 1830. He was buried in St. Peter's.

CCLV. GREGORY XVI, A.D. 1831-1846

BARTOLOMEO ALBERTO CAPPELLARI, a native of Belluno, in the Venetian territory, was elected pope on 2nd February 1831. His parents, Giovanni Battista and Giulia Cesa Pagani, both belonged to the minor Venetian nobility. At the age of eighteen he had entered the Venetian monastery of San Michele-in-Murano, which was occupied by the Camaldolese, a branch of the Benedictines. In 1795 he was sent to Rome on the business of his order. While living at the monastery of San Gregorio, on the Coelian Hill, he published, in 1799, a work entitled "Il Trionfo della Santa Sede," upholding papal infallibility and temporal power. In 1805 he was chosen abbot of this monastery, but two years later, on the banishment of Pius VII, he was forced to leave Rome, and returned to San Michele-in-Murano. After the fall of Napoleon Cappellari returned to Rome, and, in 1826, was

created Cardinal of San Callisto by Leo XII. He was afterwards made Prefect of the Congregation of the Propaganda, and was sent as nuncio to Belgium and Holland. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Gregory XVI.

Almost immediately after his election revolts broke out in the papal States, where, since the revolution, there had been much dissatisfaction with the government. On 4th February 1831 the legate was driven out of Bologna, and the tricolour hoisted instead of the papal flag. Within a fortnight the other papal States had followed the example of Bologna, and thrown off the papal rule. Pope Gregory XVI appealed to Austria for help, and a strong Austrian force was immediately sent to Bologna. In less than a month these troops succeeded in completely crushing the revolt, and restoring the papal authority in the States. The leaders of the rebellion were imprisoned or exiled.

Representatives from the chief Powers of Europe soon afterwards met in Rome, and drew up a scheme of reform for the government of the papal States, which they presented to the Pope. Gregory XVI then undertook a number of important administrative and judicial reforms. These failed, however, to satisfy the revolutionary party, and a second revolt was quelled by the Austrian troops.

Unfortunately Gregory XVI was strongly opposed to all progress, and refused to make any concessions with regard to a more popular form of government in the papal States. He issued bulls against the liberty of the press, and the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and even condemned the construction of railways.

Meantime there was much poverty and distress in the papal States, where all industry was at a standstill. Even in Rome Gregory could not appear in the streets without being surrounded by a crowd of emaciated wretches who proffered petitions. Anti-clerical legislation and reforms were approved by the rulers of Portugal, Spain, and Prussia within their dominions during this pontificate, to the great indignation of the Pope.

In December 1845 Nicholas I of Russia visited Gregory in Rome. Although it is not known what passed between them during the interview, it is supposed that Gregory severely censured the Czar for his treatment of his Catholic subjects, especially the Poles. From that time forth Nicholas treated his Catholic subjects more justly.

In spite of financial embarrassment, Gregory XVI found means to promote costly engineering and architectural works, and was a magnificent patron of scholars. He caused to be completed the reconstruction of St. Paul's without-the-Walls, which had been destroyed by fire. (*Vide* p. 460.) Before the close of his pontificate revolts again broke out in Romagna, Umbria, and Rimini, but these were temporarily crushed.

Gregory XVI died on 9th June 1846, at the age of eighty-one, and was buried in St. Peter's.

CCLVI. PIUS IX, A.D. 1846-1878

ON 16th June 1846 Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti, a native of Sinigaglia, was elected Pope after a conclave which lasted only three days. He was the son of Count Girolamo Mastai-Ferretti, whose family had come originally from Crema, and of the Countess Catarina Vollazi.

As a boy Giovanni was extremely delicate, and suffered from attacks of epilepsy, which continued until after he had attained manhood. On account of this affliction he was refused admission to the army, and later to the Church. Fortunately the malady gradually left him, and in 1819 he was ordained priest.

Three years later he accompanied the Bishop of Citta de Castello on a mission to Chili. On his return to Rome he received rapid promotion, and was appointed director of the hospital of S. Michele. In 1827 he was made archbishop of Spoleto. As he was inclined to favour the liberal party he was excluded from intimate relations with Gregory XVI, who, however, appointed him Bishop of Imola, and in 1840 raised him to the cardinalate. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Pius IX. He was then only fifty-four, and his first acts showed, to the great joy of his subjects, that he was disposed to adopt a liberal and enlightened policy. Many clerical officials who had held office during the preceding pontificate were replaced by efficient laymen. He also elected a state council to assist him in the legislation and administration of the papal territory. Many political prisoners were released, and the system of espionage was abolished. By these and similar measures Pius IX soon made himself the idol of the liberal party.

Since the revolution of 1789 the desire had been growing in Italy for a more popular government of the papal States. A movement was also in progress towards national unity, and as this also must involve the confiscation of the papal territories, it was impossible for the Pope to go the length desired by the leaders of these parties. Although he agreed to make a large number of concessions, and to reform the whole judicial and administrative system, this failed to satisfy them.

The French revolution of 1848 served to stimulate further the fervour of the revolutionary party, who took up arms against Austria under the leadership of Albert, King of Sardinia. Although it was at first hoped that the Pope would support the nationalists, he soon proclaimed his intention of remaining neutral, and refused to take any part against Austria. From this time forward he lost popularity with his subjects.

Mamiani, the chief minister of state, who aimed at separating the state entirely from the influence of the cardinals, was replaced first by Count Fabbri, and afterwards by Count de Rossi, who was unfortunately one of the most unpopular men in Rome, although an able politician. De Rossi was determined to support the papacy against the extreme revolutionary party. On 15th November, 1848, as he ascended the steps of the new Chamber of Deputies, he was stabbed to death by an unknown assailant.

A few days later Pope Pius IX fled from Rome, and took refuge at Gaeta, in the kingdom of Naples. Meantime a provisionary government was established in Rome, pending the arrangements for electing a national assembly. From his retreat Pius IX issued a protest, threatening with excommunication all who took part in the elections. No notice was taken of these threats, and the national assembly, on its election, at once declared itself, by a large majority, in favour of a republic. All ecclesiastical territories were accordingly declared to be the property of the republic.

Pius IX now appealed to the European Powers for help, and Louis Napoleon sent French troops to Italy. Although the French were at first defeated by Garibaldi, they afterwards won a succession of victories. Meantime the Austrians had also come to the help of the Pope, and the new Roman republic was dissolved by force.

In April 1850 Pius IX returned to Rome. His exile had embittered him against all liberal tendencies and under the

influence of the Jesuits he now adopted a policy which was entirely reactionary. All officials who had taken part in the republican revolt were dismissed from office. Many suspected of plotting against the papal government remained in prison without a trial.

Shortly after his return to Rome the Pope instituted in England a Catholic hierarchy, consisting of an archbishop and twelve suffragan bishops—Cardinal Wiseman, the archbishop, taking his title from Westminster. Although this at first excited a storm of opposition in England, the agitation soon died down. In Holland the Pope established a similar hierarchy, and also succeeded in extending his spiritual authority in Spain and in America. In 1854 Pius IX published his famous bull, "Ineffabilis Deus," in which he declared the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary to be one of the dogmas of the Roman Church.

In 1859 war broke out between Austria and France, the two powers which had protected the papacy. The Austrians were defeated, and in March 1861 a free Italian parliament declared Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia, King of Italy. The Pope now forfeited the whole of his dominions except the Patrimony of St. Peter, which Napoleon III insisted should be reserved for him. The remainder of Italy was united as one kingdom under Victor Emmanuel.

In December 1869 Pius IX issued the famous document known as the "Syllabus," in which he claimed for the Church the control of all branches of education, and maintained the necessity of continuing the temporal power of the Roman see. In the same month a great council of 764 prelates, from all parts of the world, assembled in the Vatican. At this council the infallibility of the Pope was accepted as a dogma of the Church.

Shortly after the dissolution of the council the Franco-German war broke out. This led to the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, and ended in the fall of the French empire. The Pope thus lost the protection of France, and in September 1870 Victor Emmanuel entered Rome and took possession of the capital. A few weeks later the King instituted a general plebiscite to decide the question of annexing Rome and the Romagna to the kingdom of Italy. So great was the discontent with the heavy taxation, and the corrupt financial administration of the papal governors, that 153,681 votes were given in favour of annexation, and only 1,507 against it.

Accordingly the Pope was stripped of his last remaining possessions, including the city of Rome.

Pius IX refused with great dignity the three and a quarter million lire which the new government provided for his use. He also refused to make terms with Victor Emmanuel, or to acknowledge him as King of Italy, and retired within the precincts of the Vatican, where he remained a voluntary prisoner until his death, seven years later. The remaining years of his life were, however, by no means spent in inactivity, and his spiritual authority was recognized more widely than before in many distant lands. In July 1871 the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate was celebrated with great rejoicing, he being the first pope "to see the years of St. Peter."

Pius IX died on 7th February 1878, after the longest reign in the annals of the papacy. He was buried in St. Peter's, but in 1881 his remains were transferred to the church of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura.

CCLVII. LEO XIII, A.D. 1878-1903

AFTER a conclave, which lasted only forty-eight hours, Gioacchino Vincenzo Pecci, a native of Carpineto, was elected supreme pontiff on 20th February 1878. He was the sixth of seven sons of Count Ludovico Pecci, whose family had belonged originally to Siena, but had been driven from thence in the sixteenth century for siding with the Medici. His mother, Anna Prosperi, is said to have claimed descent from the famous tribune Rienzi.

At the age of eight, Gioacchino Pecci and his elder brother Giuseppe (afterwards Cardinal Pecci) then aged ten, were sent to the Jesuit College at Viterbo, where they remained for three years. Gioacchino was afterwards sent to the Collegio Romano in Rome, where his Jesuit training was continued until he entered the Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici in 1822. In all these institutions he attained prominence by his unusual intellectual gifts.

In 1837 Pecci was ordained priest, and acted for some time as domestic chaplain to Gregory XIV. In the following year he was appointed Governor of Benevento, a position of great difficulty, as the whole territory was then overrun with brigands. Having been sent as nuncio to Brussels, he there won the esteem of King Leopold I by the able manner in which he

discharged his political and religious functions. Before returning to Italy, he spent a month in London, and another in Paris. During his sojourn in England he was presented to Queen Victoria. In 1845 he was made Bishop of Perugia, which see he held for the long period of thirty-two years. By Pius IX he was raised to the cardinalate in December 1853. His appointment to the office of Cardinal Camerlengo, in 1877, obliged him to return to Rome, and on him devolved the general organization of the conclave of 1878. On his elevation to the papacy he took the name of Leo XIII.

Throughout his pontificate Leo XIII continued the policy of Pius IX with regard to Italy. He prohibited Italian Catholics from taking part in political elections, and refused to come to terms with the new government. Although several attempts were made by his supporters to bring about a restoration of his temporal authority, they came to nothing. While Europe refused to consent to the Pope's exile from Rome, King Victor Emmanuel also desired his presence there as a balance against the revolutionary party. But as no means were found to reconcile the papacy with the Italian Government, the Pope remained a voluntary prisoner within the Vatican.

The policy of Leo XIII was meanwhile directed to the establishment of friendly relations between the Vatican and other European powers. In this he was eminently successful. He formally recognized the French Republic, and notwithstanding the difficult situation created by the anti-clerical reaction in France, he managed to avoid an open rupture with that country. He was, however, deeply moved by the sufferings of the religious orders in France, many of whom were ejected before the close of his pontificate for refusing to submit to the new governmental regulations.

In measure as the relations between France and the Vatican became more strained, Germany made more decided advances to the Apostolic see. To win the favour of the Liberals, Bismarck had originated the Kulturkampf, the name given to a political controversy concerning the right of self-government of the Catholic Church. Later, finding himself opposed by the Liberals, Bismarck sought the support of the Catholic party against them, and shortly after the election of Leo XIII, negotiations were begun between Germany and the Pope. In 1887 diplomatic relations were finally re-established between Germany and the Vatican, and in 1888, 1893, and 1903 the Emperor William II visited the Pope.

In 1885 the Emperor William proposed that Leo XIII should arbitrate between Germany and Spain concerning the rights of both parties in the Caroline Islands. Leo refused to arbitrate, but willingly consented to act as mediator. After due deliberation, he submitted to the two Powers a document in which he recognized the proprietary rights of Spain, but assigned to German subjects special privileges on the islands, thus satisfying both parties.

Diplomatic relations with St. Petersburg which had ceased during the pontificate of Pius IX were resumed under Leo XIII. The relations of the Apostolic see with Spain and Portugal continued to be cordial. Leo XIII consented to become godfather to the infant King of Spain, and was the trusted counsellor of the Queen-mother. In 1886 a new Concordat was drawn up between Portugal and the Roman see. In Belgium the education question caused Leo XIII great concern, and from 1880 to 1885 his relations with the Belgian Government were suspended.

The relations of Leo XIII with Great Britain were on the whole very friendly. One of the first important acts of his pontificate was to issue a bull reconstituting the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Scotland. He also took a deep interest in the welfare of the Irish, with whose troubles he sympathized, while warning them not to pursue their ends by violence and injustice.

On 20th April 1895 "The Times" published a letter from the Pope, in which he made an eloquent appeal to the English people to join in bringing about the union of Christendom. The tone of this letter raised hopes that Leo XIII might be induced to recognize the validity of Anglican orders. The Pope consented to appoint a commission to inquire into the question, but the result was that in September 1896 he issued a bull, in which he proclaimed the absolute invalidity of Anglican orders. After the publication of this bull all hope of reunion was at an end, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and York solemnly repudiated the claims made by the Roman see.

On the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilees in 1887 and 1897, Leo XIII sent representatives to London to congratulate Her Majesty. The Queen returned this compliment by sending the Duke of Norfolk to congratulate the Pope when the latter celebrated the Jubilee of his ordination. In April 1903 King Edward VII visited the Pope in the Vatican, when much kindly feeling and genuine esteem were manifested on both

sides. This meeting caused great satisfaction to King Edward's Catholic subjects.

In the United States the influence of Leo XIII was widely felt, and resulted in the spread of the Catholic faith in America, and in an increase in the prestige of the American hierarchy. A papal legate visited Washington in 1889, and in 1897 Mgr. Merry del Val was sent to Canada to deal with certain educational questions then agitating Manitoba.

As a statesman of unusual ability, and a profound scholar, Leo XIII must be reckoned the greatest pope of modern times. It is frequently declared that had it not been for his Jesuit training he would have advanced much farther than he did on the path of progress. With his permission the Society of St. Jerome issued about 30,000 New Testaments in Italian with notes. He opened the treasures of the Vatican to students of all creeds. In Rome he established a college for the study of Latin, Greek, and Italian classics. At the same time he recommended the study of the scholastic philosophy, especially that of Thomas Aquinas, and manifested an earnest devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to the Blessed Virgin, recommending the use of the Rosary. His encyclicals deal with a large variety of subjects, including social and educational questions. In the spring of 1903 the twenty-fifth year of Leo's pontificate was celebrated with great rejoicing.

Leo XIII died on 20th July 1903 at the age of ninety-three, having retained almost to the end his extraordinary intellectual activity. He was buried in St. Peter's, but in 1907 his remains were transferred to the Lateran church, where a magnificent monument was erected to his memory.

CCLVIII. PIUS X, 1903-

ON 4th August 1903, Giuseppe Sarto, a native of Rieti, in the diocese of Treviso, the son of humble parents, was elected pope. After studying theology at Treviso and Padua, he had been ordained to the priesthood in 1858, and acted for the next seventeen years as priest in various parishes of Venetia. In 1875 he was elected canon of the cathedral, and superior of the seminary of Treviso. In 1880 he refused the bishopric of Treviso, but was induced by Leo XIII, in 1884, to accept that of Mantua, where he remained for nine years.

The fame of his model diocese spread to Rome, and on 12th June 1893, he was raised to the cardinalate. A few days later Leo XIII made him Cardinal-Patriarch of Venice. During the next ten years he won the affection and esteem of the Venetians by his kindness and geniality, and by his indefatigable labours to ameliorate the condition of the poor. His relations with the Italian government were at this time most cordial, and he frequently appeared at royal functions. In May 1903 Cardinal Sarto obtained an audience with the King of Italy, who was then visiting Venice.

When summoned to attend the conclave after the death of Leo XIII, Cardinal Sarto was the subject of a friendly demonstration on the part of the Venetians, who thronged the sides of the canal and the railway station to wish him God-speed.

His election to the papacy was due to the influence of a party who desired a non-political pope, in contrast to the late pontiff, Leo XIII. The well-known piety and conciliatory views of Cardinal Sarto had recommended him to this faction. He took the name of Pius X. It was expected in many quarters that the new pope would make peace with the Italian Government, and so cease to be a "prisoner" in the Vatican. Up to the present these hopes have not been realized. In 1905, however, in order to safeguard the State against a preponderance of the socialistic party, Pius X withdrew the prohibition from Italian Catholics to vote in the general elections. (*Vide* Pius IX.)

In the same year a rupture took place between the French Republic and the Vatican. The Concordat of 1801 (*vide* p. 458) was declared null, and a complete separation decreed between Church and State in France. The Pope solemnly denounced the action of the French Government, and forbade the clergy to accept the terms offered, declaring that it were better that the Church in France should return to Apostolic poverty than that one tittle of the rights of the Holy See should be surrendered.

Towards the "Modernists" Pope Pius X has adopted a stern and uncompromising attitude. In his bull, "Pascendi gregis," he denounced their doctrine with scorn, and several Modernists have been excommunicated by the Pope. Pius X has laboured indefatigably to promote the work of internal reorganization and reform in the Church, and has consequently made himself unpopular in certain quarters. In 1904 he instituted a commission of cardinals to codify the canon laws, and in 1907 he appointed a commission, under the presidency of Abbot

Gasquet, O.S.B., an eminent English historian, to determine the original Latin text of the Vulgate as translated by St. Jerome. He has also made important changes in the musical services of the Church, rejecting the elaborate style, and returning to the old-fashioned plain chant of earlier ages.

In spite of the fact that he is hampered by convention from diverging to any considerable extent from the policy of his immediate predecessors, his blameless life and earnest zeal for the welfare of the Church places Pius X in the rank of those who have done much to advance the spiritual power of the Apostolic see.

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